A LIFE

OF

ANANDA MOHAN BOSE

BY

HEM CHANDRA SARKAR, M.A., D.D.

1929.

Published by

MISS SAKUNTALA RAO, M.A.

SECRETARY, RAM MOHUN ROY PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

210-6, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

PRINTED BY A. C. SARKAR AT THE CLASSIC PRESS,
117/1, BOWBAZAR STREET, CALCUTTA.

To

Mrs. A. M. BOSE,

who had been the most devoted
and loyal associate of her
husband during his lifetime
and
inspired him to many noble works
and
whose anxious solicitude
for the completion of this
biography
has been a most helpful
stimulus to the author,
this Volume is dedicated.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER.		PAGE.
I.	The Family	1
II.	Education And Early Life	9
III.	Initiation Into Brahmoism	16
IV.	In England	26
V.	Profession	41
VI.	Public Life	51
VII.	Political work	64
VIII.	Educational work	88
IX.	Religious work	101
X.	Work in England	123
XI.	The Nation's Tribute	167
XII.	The Last Days	182
XIII.	The Man	201

APPENDIX.

I.	Presidential Address by Mr. A. M. Bose	1
II.	The Indian Educational Service	75
III.	Mr. A. M. Bose's speech at the Federation Hall	85
IV.	Ananda Mohun Bose as a Nation Maker	93



Ananda Mohun Bose

LIFE OF
ANANDA MOHAN BOSE

CHAPTER 1.

The Family.

One of the most interesting and picturesque parts of India is that portion of Lower Bengal which stretches from the Brahmaputra river to the Surma valley. Large rivers, unfailing rainfall, rich soil and a splendid climate—these are Nature's gifts to the part of the country known as Eastern Bengal. In the north-eastern corner of the largest district of this division, not very far away from the range of hills which joins Assam with Bengal, and almost on the banks of the river Brahmaputra, there stands a group of villages inhabited by a class of Bengalees whose habits and customs of life are archaic whose language is a *patois* between Bengalee proper and Assamese, and whose temperament is as placid and docile as their land is fertile. This group of villages has stood on the borderland between Assam and Bengal and been the meeting-place of the divergent civilisations of their peoples, ever since the days of the *Mohabharata*.

In one of these villages, Jaysiddhi, in the district of Mymensingh, was born Aananda Mohan Bose on the 23rd September, 1847. His father, Padma Lochan Bose,

was a gentleman of substantial means, well-known and highly respected throughout the district. The family did not originally belong to Jaysiddhi but had settled in that village and lived there for several generations. The bulk of their estates, consisting of landed property in the districts of Mymensingh and Sylhet, had been acquired by Padma Lochan Bose himself. His father, Shyam Sunder Bose, had been the Dewan of the Salt Mahal at Chandradwip, now in the disctrict of Backergunge. This was a prize post in those days, and every one who held the office acquired immense wealth; but Shyam Sunder Bose was a man of piety and strict integrity. He never soiled his fingers by touching a single pice of unclean money. Moreover, whatever he earned with a clean conscience he spent, mostly in religious and charitable work. In the midst of such honest labours and pious duties, he was carried off suddenly by a cholera, without being able to leave anything for his sons, who were still young. Padma Lochan who was the second son, was only a boy. The charge of the family fell upon his eldest brother, Kamal Lochan, who, on the slender income of the ancestral property, maintained the family with great difficulty, till Padma Lochan, after completing his education, entered Government service. With his substantial earnings the family then became very prosperous. He was a Government officer in the District Court, and as such lived for the greater part of his life at Mymensingh.

Ananda Mohan lost his father in the year 1862,

when he was a boy of fifteen, and his father himself not much over forty. The guardianship of property and children now passed into the hands of his mother, Umakisori Devi, a woman of remarkable intelligence and ability. Ananda Mohan seems to have been far more deeply influenced by her than by his father. He always sopke of her with very great reverence. In 1891 he writes in his diary : "My mother, who had come to us on the occasion of the Ardhodaya Yoga, left this evnening for Kashi, Jotindra going with her. She had been with us for about a month and half. My dear venerable mother! When shall I see her again? Old and infirm beyond her years, I do not know how long more she has to spend with us in this world. We can never in the slightest degree repay her the deep affection which has coequered all her profound and life-long notions of religious orthodoxy in order that we may be with her."

Umakisori Devi was not only a loving and devout mother, but a woman of rare business capacity, strength of character, and deep piety. On the death of her husband, she had to look after the management of the estate and the education of her children, and both these tasks she performed with a success which would have done credit to any man. She managed to give her three sons the best education that could possibly be had in Bengal haif-a-century ago. Never did they have occasion to feel that they were fatherless. Their mother kept them in Calcutta in a style more than consistent with

the prestige of the family, and found means for this from the estate, under her wise and efficient management. The property, under her stewardship, was not only safe, but was actually made more valuable than ever. With a woman's heart she combined the tact and firmness of a man, winning the esteem and regard of all her tenants. She attended to the needs of every one of them, dispensing justice and mercy with an even hand. She looked upon the work of managing her estates and training her sons as a sacred trust from her departed husband ; and she had a deep-rooted faith that he was helping her in this work from heaven. In her old age she used to tell her grand-children that while she was crying beside his death-bed, he had said to her, "But if you are unnerved, what will become of the children ? Do not weep, look after the children ; I promise you, no evil will befall you." So saying he touched her head and blessed her. These last words of her husband were the source of her strength and hope throughout her life. Whenever his name was mentioned afterwards, she would bow her head in deep veneration. She always called him 'the master in heaven.'

While looking to every detail of the management of her fairly large estate, she was not engrossed in it ; she was equally assiduous in the performance of her religious duties, according to her own faith. She lived the life of an ideal Hindu widow, going through the daily routine of worship, feeding Brahmins and guests, and devoutly organising and paying for the usual

Hindu festivals throughout the year, while there was scarcely a place of pilgrimage that she did not visit. But, to the faith and devotion of a Hindu widow she joined a catholicity which was quite unique ; her reverence for goodness knew no distinction of caste or creed. She would never pass by the tomb of a Mahommedan saint without alighting from her conveyance and bowing down in his honour. If remonstrated with by any one, about her regard for the saints of other religions, she would reply, "We need not inquire about the caste of a holy man." Under the influence and guidance of such a mother the foundations of the deep piety of Ananda Mohan were well and truly laid.

The old lady died in 1892, leaving behind her a brilliant record for piety and capacity for zemindari management, and having seen her three sons well-established in life. Ananda Mohan's deep reverence for his mother was shown by the fact that, after her death he had her portrait hung up in his study, and did all his work in its presence.

Ananda Mohan was the second son of his parents ; of his two brothers, one was older, and the other younger, than himself. He had no sister. Besides the three brothers, there were always a number of cousins living with them under the same roof. Theirs was a happy and loving family, the relation between the three brothers particularly being always close and intimate. Time and circumstances never put any strain upon their affection. The eldest, Babu Hara Mohan

Bose, became a munsiff in the service of Government, while the youngest, Mohini Mohan, went through a training in medicine in England and America, and having received the degree of M. D. of the New York University set up as a hemœopathic practitioner in Calcutta, and established the first institution for the teaching of homœopathy in India. How strong was the bond of affection between the brothers will be seen from the following letter, which Mr. A. M. Bose wrote to a friend after the sudden death of his elder brother in 1898, three days after he had returned from his last visit to England. He wrote in reply to a letter of condolence : "Thanks for your kind letter. I did not dream, when I came home last week and met my dear elder brother,—he had gone to the station to see me—that before three days were over I should be following his deadbody to the burning ghat. How dear he was to me—much more than a brother, an elder and a younger brother combined—not many can conceive ; but *you* and the members of your happy loving family can. My bitter regret it is that I had hardly any talk with him,—and how much we had to talk with each other about ! And yet let me thank the Father that at least I had a sight of his dear face. It seems as if he had lived just to see me, and then passed away. He was ill on Wednesday morning, and on Thursday morning he left us. His face seems to haunt me as I am sitting here and writing. . . . . . If ever there was a good man in this world, a man loving and gentle

conscientious and without guile, a man inspired by the strongest sense of duty and consideration for others, it was he. My brother was, in a measure, a martyr to his strong sense of duty. Though not in strong health, he never spared himself in the discharge of his judicial work, working early and late,—sweet and gentle in his treatment of pleaders and *amlas* and every one who came in contact with him. He had just retired and I had looked forward, with the most loving anticipation, to a few years of living together in many a good cause with him. He and I had spent our boyhood and youth together—he and I only—away from other relations,—and now in our closing years I had hoped to be in loving personal companionship with him once again. But this was not to be; for the Lord had willed otherwise."

The younger brother, Mohini Mohan, was very much attached to Ananda Mohan, and followed closely in his footsteps. Though somewhat overshadowed by the genius of the elder, he also made a reputation for himself and lived a life of considerable usefulness. A man of simple unassuming piety, warm and affectionate heart, and a beautifully sweet temperament, Mohini Mohan was a universal favourite; to Ananda Mohan he was an ideal brother; from their childhood onwards the two brothers lived in the closest intimacy, sweetened and strengthened by each other's love. The warm loving nature of Ananda Mohan found in the soft adoring younger brother a life-long companion and

friend, and a worthy object on whom to pour out the unbounded love and sweetness of his heart.

With such parents and such brothers, Ananda Mohan's upbringing was firmly and lovingly directed from his very childhood.

CHAPTERR II.

Education and Early Life.

Ananda Mohan's father, Padma Lochan Bose, was a Government officer at Mymensingh where he had a house and establishment. It was the town residence of the family. Years afterwards Ananda Mohan gave it away to the Mymensingh Institution, recently christened Ananda Mohan College, which was founded by himself for the promotion of education in his native district. Ananda Mohan was brought for his schooling from Jayasiddhi to Mymensingh, while he was yet very young. His elder brother had preceded him, and the younger also followed in his turn. The Institution where he received his earliest training was then called the Hardinge Vernacular School, and was incorporated with the Zilla School a few years ago. It is said that at first Ananda Mohan was not very attentive to his studies, and did not get on well in school. He was a very pretty child and was, therefore, much petted both at home and in the school; which may for a short time have stood in the way of his rapid progress. But this did not last long. One day, being reprimanded by a relative for his backwardness, he said that from that day forward he would turn over a new leaf; and he kept his promise. While he was in the Second Class of the Hardinge Vernacular School, the Middle

Vernacular Scholarship Examination was introduced, and in that very year Ananda Mohan appeared at the examination, and received a scholarship of Rs. 4 a month, standing first among the successful candidates in his district.

From the Hardinge he passed on to the Mymensingh Zilla School, where he was admitted in the Fifth Class, but after the following annual examination was at once promoted to the third. This created some jealousy but others soon reconciled themselves to the ascendancy of the new star. Fortunately, among his fellow-students were several very promising boys, and the keen competition amongst these served to bring out his latent powers. At that time there were two parties among the students of the Mymensingh Zilla School, and the healthy rivalry between them produced beneficial effects. They had an assocation, called the Manoranjinee Sabha, apparently of the nature of an ordinary school debating society. Ananda Mohan was a prominent member of it, and it was here that he took his first lessons in that art of elocution, with which he used in later years to fascinate his hearers. Ananda Mohan must have made the very best use of his opportunities at Mymensingh, and his attainments were far above those of the average school-boy. While he was in the Third Class of the Zilla School he began and read through Alison's History of Europe. In the final examination, however, he did not come out as well as might have been expected. He went in for the

Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University from the Mymensigh Zilla School in 1862 and stood ninth in the University in order of merit, no doubt a high achievement for a boy of fifteen, but far below the level of the brilliant University career which was to follow. There was ample excuse for this comparatively unsatisfactory result. Six months before the examination his father had suddenly died, and the family affairs were in great confusion. Hence Ananda Mohan had had to go to his village home, where he had been detained till two months before the examination, thus losing the four precious months before the University test came off.

After passing the Entrance Examination, Ananda Mohan was sent to Calcutta in 1863, and was admitted into the Presidency College. A house in Chhutarpara Lane was rented for him and a few other boys connected with the family. For the next seven years he lived in Calcutta, returning home occasionally during the recesses. Here he must have made the very best use of his time and opportunities. He headed the list of successful candidates in the F. A. Examination in 1864, and again stood first for the B. A. in 1867. He was regarded by students and teachers alike as an intellectual prodigy. There was a remarkable difference in the marks obtained by him and the candidate who stood next to him in the B. A. Examination. Even before his intellectual eminence became known to the public from the result of the University Examination, his fellow-students had come to look upon him with

something like awe. Among his teachers in the Presidency College were Messrs. Clarke, Sutcliffe and Croft. Ananda Mohan was specially, strong in Mathematics. One day his professor came into the class, and gave three problems to solve, with the remark that whoever was able to solve one of them would be considered a cleaver student, and he who should solve two would stand first in the University examination. Ananda Monan inquired. "What of him who shall solve all the three?" The professor said with a smile, "No one will be able to solve all the three." Ananda Mohan rejoined, "What if somebody can?" The professor replied, "Then he ought to occupy my chair." Within a little while Ananda Mohan came to the professor with the solution of all three problems. The principal of the College, Mr. Sutcliffe, took a keen interest in him, and on the occasion of a viceregal visit to the institution introduced the young student to that veteran Punjab official Sir John Lawrence, who then presided over the destinies of the country. Mr. C. B. Clarke, the friend and contemporary of Professor Fawcett, who himself had not fallen far short of the first place at Cambridge, was struck with the mathematical talent of Ananda Mohan Bose, and brought him to the notice of Sir Henry Maine, then Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, who took occasion to speak of him publicly in one of his convocation addresses.

In the interval between the B.A. and the M.A. examinations he was married to the eldest daughter of

Babu Bhagavan Chandra Bose, who was then a Deputy Magistrate of Faridpore, but who previously, as the Head Master of the Mymensingh Zilla School, had been a teacher of Ananda Mohan. The marriage necessarily caused much distraction and waste of time; and yet Ananda Mohan took an easy first class, again heading the list of the successful candidates.

No sooner had he passed the M. A. Examination than he was appointed Professor of Mathematics in the Engineering Department of the Presidency College. He was then only twenty-two years old and the fact that a young man of his age who had hardly yet compleated his University career, should be appointed to so high a post, never before held by an Indian, shows clearly in what regard he was held by the leading authorities of the Education Department in those days.

Next year, while still working as Professor of Mathematics, he had to appear at the Premchand Roychand Scholarship Examination. Again there was a sad waste of time owing to unforeseen circumstances. A few months before the examination his wife had fallen ill and been brought down to Calcutta for treatment. Mr. Bose had to be in constant attendance on her. Only six days before the date of the examination, Mrs. Bose was according to medical advice, removed from Calcutta, and not till then did Mr. Bose have time to think of the forthcoming test. He was not at all prepared for it. He had for his competitors in the examination Mr. Kali Churan Banerji and Mr. Gourisankar Dey

formidable rivals indeed. He had almost made up his mind not to sit that year, but some friends successfully intervened, and persuaded him just to try. He had taken for his subjects Mathematics, pure and mixed, and History; for, in those days candidates had to take three subjects for the Premchand Roychand Examination. He was fairly well up in mathematics; but had read very little of histroy; and so the remaining six days he proposed to devote entirely to that subject. He used to shut himself up in his room with his books at six in the evening, and get up from the table at six in the morning. Mr. Bose had a marvellous power of application and endurance, besides a most retentive memory. He could keep up for the greater part of the night for days and weeks together, and this he often did though he had to pay dearly for it in after-life. It was owing to such over-exertions that his fine constitution was so early and so badly shattered. However, he was successful in the examination. Mr. Kali Churan Banerji withdrew at the last moment, and Ananda Mohan Bose and Gouri Sankar Dey sat for the examination, the scholarship being unanimously awarded to Bose. He had now climbed the highest rung of the ladder. He was looked upon as the most brilliant scholar of his day, while among his contemporaries and competitors were, besides the gentleman already mentioned, such students as Mr. Justice Amir Ali, Mr. Justice Promada Charan Banerjee and others who have since achieved distinction in various fields. But

Ananda Mohan Bose was no mere bookworm. Intellectual engrossment and eminence did not do the least harm to the qualities of his heart. His services were ever ready for his friends and fellow-students whenever they were in need of them. Whenever he heard that any friend was ill, he would instantly repair to his bed-side and nurse him, even at the risk of his own life. He was in constant attendance on several friends who were attacked with Cholera. His charities, even when he was a student, were large and liberal. During the whole period of his stay in Calcutta, several poor students were maintained at his cost in their own homes, and of many others he used to pay the school fees from his own pocket. Mr. Bose used to receive a considerable amount in scholarships every month, and this was always at the disposal of his friends. His hospitality was unbounded ; and the friends and guests who came were not only entertained with sumptuous dinners, but their host's wardrobe also was freely placed at their disposal. His house was a sort of centre for all East Bangal students. Many who were not personally acquainted with him but had only heard his name would come to him for help and guidance, and never went away disappointed.

CHAPTER III.

Initiation into Brahmoism

We now came to an event of the most deep-rooted and far-reaching importance in the life of Ananda Mohan Bose, namely, his initiation into Brahmoism. He had come under the influence of the Brahmo Samaj even while he was a student in the Mymensingh Zilla School. Babu Bhagavan Chandra Bose, the Head Master of the Zilla School, who afterwards became his father-in-law, was a very devout and earnest adherent of the Brahmo Samaj. The local Brahmos used to meet in his house for the weekly divine service, and Ananda Mohan very frequently, if not regularly, attended those services. But it was after his arrival in Calcutta that he was caught in the full tide of the Brahmo movement which was then stirring Calcutta society, especially of the student classes, to its depth. There was as yet no division in the Brahmo Samaj. Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore and Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen were working hand in hand for the spread of the new light, though conservative and progressive elements and tendencies must already have differentiated themselves. On his arrival in Calcutta, Mr. Bose was drawn as by a magnet, to the Brahmo Samaj and naturally ranged himself on the side of progress. The brilliant student was immediately

recognised as a very valuable acquisition, and in the frequent meetings and discussions of the Brahmo Samaj he was listened to with attention. When in November 1866, Babu Keshub Chandra Sen, at the head of the progressive Brahmos, seceded from Maharshi Devendra Nath, and organised the Brahmo Samaj of India, Mr. Bose followed him and became an important member of the new organisation, but his relation with the Maharshi always remained close, cordial, and deeply respectful. Throughout his life he had a profound regard for the venerable patriarch of the Brahmo Samaj, and constantly repaired to him for spiritual help and inspiration. He used to make it a point to visit the Maharshi several times in the year, with his wife and children. The nature of the relationship that existed between these two distinguished leaders of the Brahmo Samaj, will be understood from the following paragraph which Mr. Bose wrote on receiving the news of the death of the Maharshi. It was not Mr. Bose's habit to write for the newspapers. Indeed, he had an inherent aversion to putting down his thoughts in black and white, and seldom could be induced to write anything. But when the news of the death of Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore reached him, in his suburban residence at Dum-Dum, where he was staying at the time, he wept like a child and sent the following note to the *In Memoriam* number of the *Indian Messenger*.

"There are some regrets that last for life. Confined here by poor health, I had arranged to be in Calcutta

early to-morrow to take part, so far as I am able, in the festivities of the Maghotsava and my first act I had planned to be a visit to the Maharshi. But that is not to be. I cannot now have a last look at those beaming glowing eyes, at that sweet never-to-be-forgotten face and I cannot have my last salutation at his feet. And yet why should I regret to my life's end? Freed from all barriers of space, I feel his spirit is now this very moment with me. He was like a father to me. I had the privilege of being amongst those for whom the Maharshi entertained a special affection; and his Love and Blessing have ever been like a band round me. I can never forget the warmth of his greeting to me and to mine whenever we saw him, and how many scenes come surging to my mind at the present moment! But I will not speak of my personal loss or of my private grief. Let me rather remember his deep learning and his active and profound piety; his inspired and inspiring presence, and his active and earnest sympathy with every good cause. Let us all be grateful fo God that he was spared so long; a living centre of saintly influence, to which people went as to a holy shrine, and felt uplifted and ennobled by that glorious and beautiful presence. And to the Brahmo Samaj he has been a second father, coming to its rescue in its hour of helpless infancy with trials and gloom gathering around it. Every year will add to the record of his influence, of his heaven-inspired and heaven-directed energy in achieving that work and placing the Brahmo Samaj on its march of

progress. Many pens will no doubt record that wonderful history,—how, abjuring the ease and luxury which surrounded him, he set out on his great quest for Truth, and how, having attained that Truth from his Meditations and wanderings in the hills and from the Upanishads which he loved so dearly, he returned to Calcutta and poured out that truth in burning words which carried conviction. Child of Dwaraka Nath Tagore, and the first Secretary, I believe, of the British Indian Association, he might have been a Maharaja long before this. But he chose the better part. Maharajas die but Maharshis live—live in the grateful hearts of unborn generations. Let me make two suggestions, before I close. I trust his family will see to the rendering into English of the last, but by no means the least, of the legacies the Maharshi has left to the Brahmo Samaj, his chapter of Autobiography, precious almost beyond measure, so that at least some in the West will get an idea and an understanding of the development of an Eastern, I may say in its best sense a Hindu, saint. It is fitting that he who lived in the perpetual sunshine of a realised God should have passed away in the course of our Maghotsava. Whatever may be the other, or more permanent memorials that the Brahmo community may think of and for their departed Maharshi, I hope there will be what I may call a Maharshi-day in the midst of our present Utsava, when we shall endeavour to realize in a special measure his services to the community and the country and the spirit of his life and of his writings."

"I have read in the papers that when he passed away yesterday afternoon and within a short time, there was a concourse of people, no body knew how gathered, and the scene at the funeral was unparalleled. It was a fitting close to a life in so many respects without a parallel. I read too that the last ceremony in the burning ghat took place, not on the ordinary ground set apart for the purpose, but on the margin of the river. His ashes rest well, mixed with the river coming down from his favourite Himalayas, whence he came down, after years of meditation and study and of Brahmo Sadhan, like a life-giving stream to many a thirsty soul rich in those immortal व्याख्यान (expositions) which he poured down from a full heart. He has left behind him children and children's children, bounteously gifted with scholarship and genius. My heart goes out in all tenderness and sympathy to them. May theirs be also the inheritance in a full measure of the spirit of the Lord and the self-sacrificing, self-forgetting zeal for humanity, which filled him whose passing away we mourn to-day! And may the fire which he kindled in the Brahmo Samaj and in many seeking souls, be imperishable, abiding for ever in our hearts and in our lives."

With the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj of India, Mr. Bose's interest and activity in religious and social reform increased. Like many other young men, he enthusiastically supported Babu Keshab Chandra Sen in his new projects and enterprises. Student though he

was, he subscribed liberally to the Building Fund of the Brahmo Samaj of India. His growing connection with the Brahmo Samaj naturally brought him into collision with his family. But in his case the usual fiery ordeal of a young Brahmo convert was somewhat mild. For forty years ago, the conversion of young man to Brahmoism was, barring the legal consequences, little less serious than the discovery, in the early years of the progress of the Christian church, of the association of any one with that hateful sect, as it was then called. A Brahmo convert and his family, if they sympathised with him, would at once be excommunicated, and his closest friends would disown him, and would not admit him within the precincts of their dining room, his very presence being considered pollution. If he were of tender age, he would be thrashed, bound, and confined by his parents and guardians, the more bigoted being even ready to kill him, unless the law of the land intervened ; and when all threats and persecutions failed to win the unfortunate heretic back, he would be turned away from home and outcasted by his society. Hence the prospect before the Brahmo convert of those days was sufficient to appal the bravest heart. There was yet no definitely organised Brahmo community ; so if he had any children, the question of marrying them would be the greatest stumbling block in his way ; often the wife who, as a rule, was illiterate, and could not sympathise with his action and aspiration, would refuse to follow him. In

many cases the wailings and complaints of his family would make his life miserable. If the convert were young and had as yet no independent income of his own, there would be every chance of his starving. His parents and guardians would no longer help him; and he would be deprived of his legitimate share in the family property. But apart from these personal sufferings and privations, the grief of his parents and friends, owing to his conversion to the new faith, would press most heavily on the mind of the unfortunate convert, for the event was looked upon as a grave family calamity, and many parents under such circumstances died of grief. Ananda Mohan might not have actually suffered all this, but that there was the risk no one could deny. The brunt of the battle had been borne, however, by his elder brother, Babu Hara Mohan Bose, who had preceded him in the Brahmo Samaj. Their mother, who was a staunch orthodox Hindu, had done her best to prevent this calamity, as she regarded it. Once when Hara Mohan went to join a Brahmo meeting at a village, some miles off from Jaysiddhi, she followed him thither and compelled him to return home at once. While in England, Mr. Bose, in a letter which he wrote to Miss S. D. Collet in January, 1871, gave an interesting account of his brother's trials on account of his connection with the Brahmo Samaj. He wrote as follows: "I am sorry I cannot give you all the details in connection with my brother's case, as I am not acquainted with them all, but I will state some of them as far as I know, as

no doubt they will be interesting to you. Our home is in a district where scarcely any influence of education or enlightenment has yet been felt, and within a radius, I believe, of fifty miles on every side of it, there is only one Brahmo besides my brother, a gentleman of very reduced circumstances, and whose poverty and distress are principally owing to his unpopularity as a Brahmo. My mother, who is a devout Hindu, has been in the habit of regularly performing the different worships and rites which Hinduism prescribes, any discontinuance of which she would regard as extremely painful, or, to use her own language, as she has sometimes told me, as worse than death. I may tell you here that these rites necessarily require the assistance of Brahmins or the priest-class, and in fact, have to be performed by them. It was, it seems, on the eve of one of these that the Brahmins waited in a sort of deputation on my brother, and asked him if he would, whatever might be his private sentiments, conform in outward observance to some at least of their practices. On his answering in the negative, they then and there pronounced the sentence of excommunication on the whole family and those in any way connected with it. The intended rite of my mother was, of course, not performed. The Brahmins possess in India an amount of power and influence (excepting the few parts where it is beginning to break up) equal to what was exercised by the Popes of Rome in their most palmy days. The other classes of society necessarily joined in the sentence they pro-

mulgated. All our neighbours cut off every kind of intercourse, and all the servants came in a body to give up their service. My mother was able for the moment to induce them to stay with us by various entreaties and promises, one of which was that she would make my brother consent to the requisition of the Brahmins. This allaying was but temporary, and the storm must have burst again by the time I write. Our home, in the meantime, writes my brother, is day and night full of wailing and mourning, They will have, my mother and aunt, to spend the last few days of their ebbing life as utter outcastes ; their funeral rites will not be performed ; and the girls, the grandchildren of my aunt, will not be married. To understand this last I may tell you, that the Hindus look with extreme religious horror on a girl not entering the wedded state within a certain prescribed (and very young), age."

The brave example of his elder brother made the path of Mr. Bose somewhat smoother and easier. Yet the pain unavoidably given to his mother and other relatives must have caused him deep mortification. The last decided step was taken by Mr. Bose on the 22nd August 1869, when on the occasion of the opening of the new Mandir of the Brahmo Samaj of India, he, along with his wife, was formally initiated into Brahmoism by Keshub Chandra Sen, twenty other young men, including Pandit Sivanath Sastri and Krishana Behari Sen, also being initiated on the same day. That was a red-letter day in the history of the Brahmo

Samaj. To Mr. Bose it was the entrance into new life. Henceforth his life was one incessant endeavour to live out the ideal which he had solemnly accepted that day. "Worship and Work" became the motto of his life. On the day of his initiation, he spent his whole time in devotion, without touching any food.

CHAPTER IV.

In England

By coming out successful in the Premchand Roychand Studentship Examination, Mr. A. M. Bose became entitled to a scholarship of Rs. 10,000 from the University of Calcutta. This quickened in his mind the desire to complete his education in England. The approaching visit to England of the great Brahmo preacher, Babu Keshub Chandra Sen, stimulated that desire, and gave him a convenient opportunity for fulfilling it. There were yet grave difficulties in his way. Though he had already been initiated into Brahmoism, he was not yet considered entirely lost to his family and society. A visit to Europe in those days was looked upon as a very difficult thing, even by the most enlightened families in the land. His mother was naturally very unwilling to let him go. He had already been married, and though his wife's parents were of advanced and liberal ideas, the proposal to make a long stay in a distant land was looked upon by them with aversion. Both the mother and the mother-in-law, however, reconciled themselves to the proposal, though it caused them much grief.

Mr. Bose left for England in the company of Babu Keshub Chandra Sen and his friends, on the 5th February, 1870, per S. S. *Mooltan.* They reached London in March, where Keshub Chandra Sen was

warmly received by the Unitarians of London. Mr. Bose spent the first few weeks with him in the metropolis of the British Empire, and then went to Cambridge, where he was admitted into Christ's College. Mr. Sen and his party left England in September, and it was then that the young student most keenly felt the separation from home and family. He thus wrote to Miss Collet on the 17th September, 1870: "I passed last night with Mr. Sen and saw him off by train in the morning at Waterloo Station. We were a few of us there until the train carried him out of our sight. It is needless to say how affecting the parting was. Yet truly we ought not to be sad at the conclusion of his short though eventful stay in this country, for there is India to call him to the field of his high work. May God bless his labours and make his visit to this land productive of lasting good, and draw closer together the bond of union and sympathy between the two countries."

But though his friends were gone, never for a day were they absent from his mind. Soon after his arrival in England Mr. Bose had become acquainted with Miss Sophia Dobson Collet, that generous-hearted English woman, whose unselfish interest in the Brahmo Samaj forms a romantic episode in its history, and whose untiring and life-long labours on its behalf should never be forgotten by the members of that community. In spite of delicate and failing health, she laboured for many years for the Brahmo Samaj and watched

its progress with the enthusiasm of the most ardent apostle. She would undergo any amount of trouble to collect even the minutest piece of information about it. The seven volumes of her Brahmo Year-Book, and her admirable Life of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, will ever remain as a monument of her warm love and persevering labour for the Samaj, as well as of her absolute fairness of mind, and her wonderful capacity for collecting facts under even the most difficult circumstances. Her kindness to the Brahmos who visited England during her life-time was boundless. During his five years' residence in that country Mr. Bose found in her a sincere friend and well-wisher and Miss Collet in her turn learnt much from him about the Brahmo Samaj. They kept up a regular correspondence; and it is from the letters written by Mr. Bose to Miss Collet during this period, which were carefully preserved by her, that the materials for this chapter have been mainly derived. Their first joint effort was to dispel current misconceptions about the Brahmos and the Brahmo Samaj. Miss Collet wrote many paragraphs and articles in the newspapers and magazines, Mr. Bose supplying the materials. On the 23rd April, 1870, he writes: "It is needless to say that I have read with pain the series of most disingenuous attacks on Mr. Sen in the correspondence columns of the *Daily News*. As far as some of them go against Mr. Sen, personally they might perhaps be passed over; for, I doubt not the public will appreciate the

spirit which has moved the writers, and that Mr. Sen will outlive the petty darts of these assailants, the last two of whom, it is painful to find, are his own countrymen. As the letters, however, (the last two I mean) contain many grave, gross, and I fear, wilful misstatements with regard to the position of the Brahmo Samaj, I will send you a few observations on the letter of 'A Quondam Brahmo.' Miss Collet began to learn Bengali at this time, and Mr. Bose lent her valuable aid in the pursuit of her new studies.

Throughout the whole period of his stay in England, Mr. Bose was in close touch with Miss Collet, and together they planned and executed many undertakings for the benefit of the Brahmo Samaj. They watched with anxiety the varying fortunes of the Bill to legalise Brahmo marriages, which had been on the legislative anvil for a considerable time. Mr. Bose, before he left India, had taken an active part in promoting this measure. He was one of the speakers at the public meeting held in Calcutta in support of it. After he left India, it met with opposition from an unexpected quarter. Mr. Bose writes in August, 1871: "After reading the memorial of the conservative Brahmos, I could not help blushing for shame that those professing to designate themselves Brahmos could be the authors of such a production. It appears to be beyond the powers of endurance of these gentlemen that the brand of civil disability should be removed from those who would not be bound by the caste prejudices and

most crude reforms of the Adi Brahmo Samaj, and this while the Hindus themselves have nothing to say against this removal of a shameful wrong. I trust, after its long postponements, the Bill will pass into law at the Simla session as promised by Mr. Stephen." That hope, however, proved to be a delusion. The passage of the Bill was further obstructed. At the suggestion of Miss Collet, Mr. Bose and other Brahmos then resident in England, sent a memorial to the Government of India in support of the Bill. With what scrupulous anxiety Mr. Bose used to set his hand even to little things will be evident from the following passage in a letter to Miss Collet regarding this petition. "My only hesitation at first," wrote Mr. Bose, "respecting the propriety of our petition was that it would be entirely unnecessary, and that the position which the conservative Brahmos have taken is so utterly weak and indefensible, (and I sincerely regret it for their sake) that our joining in protest against it might bear the appearance of our proceeding simply from a desire to show ourselves, and possibly an affected conciousness of any superior importance attached to our signature." In reply to a query of Miss Collet as to his impression on the new shape which the Bill had assumed, Mr. Bose wrote in October 1871: "I should certainly have preferred, for many reasons, the general Bill, as first introduced by Sir Henry Maine, to the present special form of it, and I do not see why the legislature should have abandoned its original design. Many cases and

difficulties can be readily conceived which the present Bill will not meet, and there cannot be much doubt that sooner or later it will have to be extended and widened so as to have a broader character." "I think," he added, "it would be by far the best to accept the measure as it is, and then when need arises it would not be difficult to get it altered." This Bill was finally passed in 1872.

Another matter which caused him much anxiety while in England was a serious difference of opinion, leading almost to a schism in the ranks of progressive Brahmos, on the question of the position of women. He wrote to Miss Collet: "I was indeed grieved to learn, from Krishna Behary's letter, of the further progress of the schism among our Brahmo friends in Calcutta. I am earnestly hoping that it may yet be stopped, not at the cost of necessary reform but in an amicable and just settlement of the points in dispute. I am painfully constrained to admit that the authorities of the Brahmo Mandir have hither to failed to understand the real significance of the movement, and perhaps even now regard it as proceeding from a love of ostentation (as the *mirror* expressed it a short time ago) on the part of a few ladies, instead of its being the genuine result of the most natural impulse and the most valued privilege of the human mind—love of personal liberty. I can at the same time fully realise the difficulties which Krishna Behari speaks of as standing in the way of what I think I must call

female emancipation, though I am ashamed to use the word; but the best way of meeting them is, I think, not by succumbing to them, still less by forcibly stamping out the growing desire for freedom from constraint. I cannot make out what are the points now at issue between the two parties, as it appears from the letter as well as from announcements in the *Mirror*, that all that was asked for has now been conceded by the authorities of the Mandir. I feel, however, that if the party claiming more extended privileges for ladies had at first been treated with courtesy or met in a spirit of love, if the concessions now offered had been granted before, the present unfortunate state of affairs would never have arisen." When this 'unfortunate state of affairs' came to an end, Mr. Bose wrote to Miss Collet: "I cannot tell how glad I am to learn that the differences which have divided our brethren in Calcutta for these months past have at last been removed. I only pray to God that this may be accompanied or speedily followed by the internal healing of all ill-feeling and restoration of perfect love and harmony. This has indeed been the uplifting of a great weight from our hearts." All this goes to show that though he was far from India, the cause of the Brahmo Samaj, even then, as undoubtedly later on, was always uppermost in his heart.

In the meantime he was working steadily at Cambridge. He had to overcome many difficulties, the nature of which is indicated in the following extract from a letter to Miss Collet. He wrote: "I have suffered

much from my ignorance about the system and details of education as carried on at Cambridge and which I have gradually discovered for myself to be entirely different from the notions I had derived from my knowledge of the Calcutta and London Universities. You know, I think, that I had given up the idea of going in for Honours in Mathematics and taken up the Law Tripos as being of more practical importance to me in my future profession and requiring a shorter period of study; but I have now, from various considerations, resumed my mathematical work, having thus unfortunately lost in the meantime a good deal of valuable time." In spite of these difficulties and interruptions, Mr. Bose soon became well-known at Cambridge as a brilliant mathematical student. He secured a scholarship from the college, which was increased later on, in consideration of good results in the annual exminations. It was confidently expected that in the final examination he would come out at the top of the list as the Senior Wrangler for the year. This was looked upon with so much certainty that the London *Daily News* prematurely announced his name as that of the Senior Wrangler for the year. The actual result, however, did not turn out to be so favourable. He was placed ninth in the list. The following extract from a letter, written to Miss Collet soon after the result was known, will explain the causes of this somewhat disappointing result:—"I thank you for your congratulations on my success in the Examination. I am quite

satisfied with the place I have got. At one time I had hoped for a better place in the list, but after the time lost in having to get up my Latin and Greek and still more in turning away for nearly a year from my Mathemetics into Law when I had given up the idea of the Mathematical Tripos, I had hardly expected to obtain so high a place amongst the Wranglers. I have the honour of being the first Wrangler here among my countrymen; but I hope many will succeed me now and not have to contend against my disadvantages." His hope has been fulfilled. There have been several Indian Wranglers since then, and even two Senior Wranglers, but then it must be observed that the regulations for the Mathematical Tripos at Cambridge have been considerably amended, to the advantage of Indian students, since the time of Mr. Bose.

Besides working for the Mathematical Tripos, he was also equipping himself at Cambridge for his future public career. He was a prominent member of the University Union, in the debates of which he spoke frequently. A don of the Cambridge University, who was a student at the time of our hero there, contributed an intersting sketch to the *Christian Life* of London, shortly after Mr. Bose's death, from which we quote the following: "It is just a third of a centurv since, in my undergraduate days, I made the acquaintance of A. M. Bose, then at Christ's College. Our common admiration for Mr. Spears and for his zealous efforts tc promote religious

reform, brought us together. Indians were still rare at Cambridge ; there was, I think, in the whole University only one other (a Mahommedan) besides Mr. Bose. I have seldom seen a more attractive picture than Bose presented in those days—a slight and graceful figure, always clad in the simple Brahmo dress, and with delicate shapely features and expressive eyes. He was already training himself for a public career by attendance at the debating society of Christ's College. Bose's maiden speech in the debating hall of the University Union Society I had the good fortune to hear. It was upon the needs of India, and the subject fired the speaker. It was in March of 1872. The other Cambridge Indian, Syed Mahmood, (also of Christ's College), moved, 'that in the opinion of this House, England has failed in her duties to India!' The only speakers who supported this unwelcome doctrine, were Henry Cunningham (now a C. B. in a high position in the Home Office,) and A. M. Bose. But unwelcome as the resolution was, Bose's speech took the House by storm and carried the day by 74 votes against only 26. In that famous old training-school of English orators., I have listened to many noteworthy outbursts of skilful speech, but never once to any other that was so continuously eloquent, or that roused the audience, to such general enthusiasm."

At Cambridge he came in contact with that gifted and high-minded Britsh statesman, Prof. Henry Fawcett, who entertained a very high regard for Mr. Bose. The

'Member for India' was naturally deeply interested in this promising Indian youth, and there soon sprang up between them a close friendship and mutual regard. Mr. Bose rendered him considerable assistance in his electoral campaigns. Once he was to accompany Mr. Fawcett to a meeting of his constituency at Brighton. At the last moment Mr. Fawcett was prevented from attending it on account of sudden illness. Instead of postponing the meeting, Mr. Fawcett requested Mr. Bose to speak to his constituency on his behalf, and this he did with remarkable success. On reading the speech, Prof. Fawcett remarked that he himself could not have done better. When the time came for his departure from England Mr. Fawcett said that it was a pity that he had to go. If his lot had only been cast in that country, he might one day have become its Prime-Minister.

In accordance with the Brahmo ideal—the harmonious development of all the powers in man—Mr. Bose attended to physical culture along with his intellectual pursuits. While in England, he became a volunteer and distinguished himself as a clever marksman.

Simultaneously with his studies at Cambridge, Mr. Bose was keeping the terms in the Inns of the Law Court. A little after his graduation at Cambridge, he was called to the Bar on the 3oth of April, 1874.

And now the time was drawing near when he would have to leave England for home. He anticipated the

day with distinct sadness. "The period of my stay in this country," he wrote to Miss Collet, "is now really and daily drawing to an end. So rooted have I felt myself in these many years in England and so much have my feelings and affections been associated with many things and entwined round many dear friends, that in spite of the view I seem already mentally to catch of home, I feel at the present moment by no means unmixed pleasure. My preparations for leaving England seem something like a wrench from my usual habits." It was with regard to Miss Collet that the wrench was most painful and the feeling was equally keen on both sides. Miss Collet gave some parting presents for him as well as for his wife, with whom she had been corresponding almost from the time of her acquaintance with Mr. Bose. In acknowledging these he wrote: "Accept my best and most sincere thanks for the present of the beautiful little hymn-book and for your most helpful letter. How grateful I feel for your sympathy and kindness, and I feel that both your beautiful letter and the book will be of help to me in the work which lies before me. I shall preserve your letter, and shall hope, my dear Miss Collet, to receive from time to time such encouraging and instructive letters from you, when I am in India. I have not time to write more today, as I am in the midst of my packing for this evening's journey to Edinburgh. I shall write to you when more at leisure or talk to you at length about the substance of

your letter and other thoughts which occur to me from time to time regarding the work and organization of the Brahmo Samaj. Can the Brahmo Samaj ever feel sufficiently grateful to you for your warm and generous sympathy for it ?"

There were yet a few months before him. He had already seen a good deal of England and English institutions. During the vacations he had travelled extensively in England and Wales. But before returning to India he wanted to see more of England and Scotland, and he was specially anxious to see Ireland, with which country he felt a keen sympathy. It was with this object in view and also to have some practical experience of legal practice in the British courts of law, that he lingered abroad for several months longer. He enjoyed his travels very much, in spite of the cold and rainy weather in the Highlands of Scotland. In Ireland he was so fortunate as to have an old college friend settled in the interior of the country, so that he had a very good opportunity of learning something of the people and studying their habits and manners.

He left England on the 20th September, 1874, and spent a few weeks on the Continent,—in France, Switzerland and Italy. By dint of hard travelling, often during the night, he managed to see a good deal in that time. In Italy he saw Milan, Rome and Naples, and brought his tour to a conclusion, as he wrote, "amid the solemn ruins of Pompeii with the ever-smoking Vesuvius before me." He took steamer at Brindisi on the 12th

October. We may fitly close this chapter with the following letter written to Miss Collet from the *S. S. Hindoostan* :—

"I sit down to send a few lines bearing my love and kindest remembrances to you. How sorry I felt at the shortness of our parting interview, when I had had to tear myself away for another engagement, and at my inability to see you again, as I had some faint hopes of doing! During the last few days of my stay in London I was so much absorbed—I almost wonder now how it all was—that I was hardly master of myself, and I had to bid farewell to England with this hope unfulfilled. But however short the time I could see you at the last, amongst the pleasantest of all the memories I carry with me of the years I have spent in England will be the thought of the happiness and pleasure I have derived from your acquaintance and friendship. A recollection of this will ever be engraved in my heart, and often and often I shall look back with regretful joy on those days when I have been with you, and derived a strengthening and cheering influence from your example and words. But though I shall be so very far from you, yet, as you know, I shall always look forward to the pleasure of hearing from you and being helped by your words and counsel. When I consider all the difficulties which will surround me in India, and my own weakness, and the condition of our country at the present time in its religious, social, and political relations, I feel not a little anxiety and even sadness.

But yet I look with hope and faith on the dispensations of our Heavenly Father, and trust that it will please Him to remove the thick veil of evils lying on our dear mother-land and bless even our feeble efforts with some success."

CHAPTER V.

Profession

Mr. Bose reached Calcutta on 3rd November, 1874, after an absence of nearly five years. The story of his brilliant achievements in England had preceded him, and made his name a household word among the educated classes in India, particularly in Bengal. Almost immediately after his return, he was enrolled as an advocate of the Calcutta High Court, and he began to get on fairly well from the very commencement of his profession as a practising lawyer. The first case in which he appeared, within a few days of his return, was a criminal appeal hearing before the late Mr. Justice Romesh Chandra Mitter. The appellant had been sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment. Mr. Bose did not succeed in getting the conviction set aside: he had a bad brief. But his argument was so able and skilful that Mr. Justice Mitter said to a common friend that Ananda Mohun seemed to him to have thoroughly equipped himself as a high-class advocate. The Calcutta Bar was then particularly rich in able advocates, some of them being Indians, such as Messrs. W. C. Bonnerjee and Monomohun Ghose. The competition in those days between the Indian and English sections of the Bar was very keen, and it was not an easy thing for any man, particularly an Indian, to achieve any considerable success in the practice and profession of law.

Yet Ananda Mohun made a good start, and began steadily to gain distinction. On one ocassion, Mr. John D. Bell, then Standing Counsel of Calcutta, in a speech at the Trades Dinner, characterised Mr. Bose's defence in a certain case before the High Court Sessions as the most splendid forensic argument he had ever heard out of Westminister Hall.

But Mr. Bose did not care to follow up his success. Many solicitors and attorneys came to his chambers with briefs, only to find him absent. They begged him to give greater time and attention to his profession. But, instead of assiduously applying himself to the legal profession, in which even the most brilliant talent cannot hope for success without perseverance and application, Ananda Mohun engaged himself in various enterprises of public usefulness. It may be said of him that he always had too many irons in the fire. Had he chosen to devote himself entirely, either to the profession of law, or to the study of Mathematics and Science, which had been his first love and had no doubt a greater attraction for him, he would have risen to the highest rung of the ladder in either of these departments, and might have gained enduring fame. But this was not to be; and perhaps it was better that it was not. His mind was too large to be cooped up within the boundaries of any particular occupation; the needs of India were too many and too urgent to allow his sensitive soul to pursue comfortably any favourite study or profession. There were innumerable calls on him

from the religious, social and political fields, and he could not turn a deaf ear to any of them, Indeed, it was well-known that he had deliberately chosen the legal profession as the one calling that would give him the greatest opportunity, feedom, and leisure, to work out the various schemes for the regeneration of his country, which he had early sketched out in his mind, and which he was now anxious to carry out. He had never meant to make law the only concern of his life ; he had embraced the legal profession as the most convenient for his purpose, yielding the necessary income for the maintenance of himself and his family with the least tax on his time and attention. Indeed, he seemed to grudge every moment of the time that he had to bestow on it. This will be quite evident from the following entry in his diary on the 11th December, 1883 : "Busy since morning about a criminal appeal before the Alipore Judge. Five hours hammering before him from 12 to 5 or later. Find him with very peculiar notions as to evidence. Felt tired in the evening and did no work. Could not attend a meeting of the Indian Association Committee on account of the case—incidents of the drudgery of the profession. Let me earnestly strive for the time when I may earn my freedom." Attending an ordinary meeting of the Committee of the Indian Association was more important to him than earning handsome fees by work in the court, which he looked upon as *drudgery.* That this was genuine public spirit and no desire for idle leisure, or aimless drifting, is

seen by the sustained hard work done by him, for one great cause after another throughout his life. He might be little interested in mere money-getting moreover, but to the end, especially after his health had broken down, he could hardly be restrained from throwing himself with the same ardour into cases that won his sympathy, and the more so perhaps if they could not pay. He was looking for "freedom" only that he might devote his whole time and energy to the service of his country. This was the goal which was always before his eyes from the very beginning. He spoke of it frequently. On the 9th December, 1883, he wrote in his diary: "Have been thinking a good deal as to my future course. I feel myself between two forces. On the one hand, I feel an almost overpowering desire to give up all my secular work and devote myself entirely to the service of my God and my Country. I feel that in this way alone can I really be happy. On the other hand, I see what appears to be insuperable practical difficulties in realizing this blessed consummation, on account of my various obligations. If it pleases God, I will work for two, and not more than three, years more in the drudgery of my profession, and then entirely devote myself to the nobler work of my country's spiritual, political, and intellectual advancement. Wilt thou, Father, allow it so to be? The future is dark to our eyes, but revealed to Thee. Into Thy hands and unto Thy guidance, Lord, I commit it in love and trust, in faith and prayer. But as to the

drudgery of my profession, this must be done steadily and systematically so as really to enable me to retire at the end of two or three years. I must cultivate or recover the habit of earnst and persistent work, giving up idleness and listlessness, with a steady aim in view rooting out by determined effort the habits which interfere with success. and in this drudgery shall I see the hand of the Lord and His preparation of me for His higher work. Amen."

It was this desire to save as much time as possible for public work that led him to choose the mofussil courts for his field of practice. Mofussil practice had this advantage over the High Court, that it brought ready money, cost little time, and involved less worry and drudgery. Thus, though in the long run, the Calcutta Bar would have been far more lucrative, he chose as his field, the mofussil, and was almost uniformly lucky. He carried everything before him in these country courts. It was seldom that he lost a case, and in criminal practice he earned a high reputation. Though he was never very assiduous in his pursuit of briefs, yet he made a small fortune during the comparatively short period of his active practice. Much as he disliked the drudgery of his profession, it afforded him the material basis of his manifold good works. And more than that, he had the satisfaction of doing much good to his fellowmen, redressing the worngs of the distressed, securing justice for the ill-used, and saving many lives from imminent death. On one occasion, when he

had succeeded in getting the death-sentence on a number of innocent persons quashed, and the poor victims, on being released, came and prostrated themselves at his feet, he felt and said that his legal aquirements had not after all been quite useless. In connection with one case he writes in his diary : "The case completly collapsed in Court today, grounds coming out for the strongest suspicion as to the truth of the case and the *bona fides* of the Court Sub-Inspector. It is painful to think what an amount of falsehood and perjury is brought before the courts ; and what a daring and persistent amount of illegality has been brought out in the proceedings of Mr. * * After cross-examining altogether five of the prosecution witnesses, I thought it unnecessary to cross-examine the remaining eight or nine witnesses, delivered no address, but only drew the Court's attention to a few details, and brought the case to a conclusion.

Another very important reason for his choosing mofussil practice was that it afforded him the opportunity of coming in contact with many people, and thus extending the useful work begun in Calcutta, to distant parts of the country. Wherever he went, his first aim was to enquire into the condition of the people there, and to find out if there was room for any religious, social, educational or political work. In this way he succeeded in starting many useful institutions and doing an immense amount of good, in the places he visited. In his diary there are frequent references to the condi-

tion of the towns and the character of the people he met. A specimen page for 1878, contains, for instance, a complete table of the organisation of the Brahmo Samajes in Assam, with lists of their responsible leaders, and even in many cases, notes on their personal characteristics. Thus even his professional visits were utilised for the benefit of the causes he had at heart.

But he also made these visits and travels conducive to his own deepest spiritual life, as if each one were a veritable pilgrimage. On his arrival at Cuttack, whither he had gone to conduct a case, on the 1st of November 1884, he writes in his diary: "Once more back to Cuttack, to the place where I had spent so many days and thought noble thoughts on many occasions. Lord sanctify, if so be Thy will, my stay in this place and make it conduce to my salvation and eternal progress. Let the month on which I am entering be one of progress and strength and let it bear me on to one step, however poor, nearer unto Thy Sheltering Presence." During his stay at Cuttack he heard some English hymns in the house of his friend, Mr. K. G. Gupta, and he notes down his impression of the occasion: "I should like to have opportunities of hearing them often. That sweet hymn of prayer and supplication amid the deepening gloom of trials and temptation, 'Abide with me, fast falls the eventide.' I well remember the thrill with which I read this noble hymn when I first came across it in the Union Library room at Cambridge." And when on the completion of the business, his few days' stay at Cuttack was

at an end, he thus took leave of the place: "17th November:—The golden tinge of the setting sun had already begun to show themselves in the western sky, when I took my farewell of Cuttack—the tall chimney of the workshop and Dr. Stewart's house, the long stretch of sands, the dense cluster of trees, being the last objects visible, of the place where I have spent so many months, while on the other bank there continued to remain visible until I entered the canal, the long extended undulating blue range of hills in all their beauty and attractiveness—hills which have so often fascinated me and preached many a lesson to me." And as on his return he was entering the mouth of the Hooghly he writes:—"Wilt Thou Father abide with me and bless my return? Thought of the past too, how this month not far from this time, just ten years ago, I was speeding this way across the bosom of the Bay to home and country with many hopes and many thoughts. The cool life-giving sea-breeze is blowing across the infinite watery expanse, the star-lit sky above and water all around." After writing these lines he went out and stood on the deck, at about 9-25 P. M. "The crescent moon had gone down and the broad belt of light in the steamer's track was no longer visible, but in its place, a little higher up, was seen the black line of smoke from the engine. The stars shone gloriously in the sky, sparkling, glittering, shining in their countless hosts...Standing in front under the high light of our vessel and bidding farewell to the sea, at that moment, saluted my God, thought

of the morrow and prayed for the future, whatever might happen." And so it was with regard to every place he visited, however prosaic and uninteresting it might be. After a casual visit to Chandernagore, he writes: "Had my last stroll on the beautiful strand from 10 to 11 last night. The lovely sight, the broad river, two stars and the moon joined to the quiet. Bowed to father and took leave of the place and the river in that dead hour of the night. May He bless His child and carry him in His arms safe across the dark waves, through the dismal gloom of the trials that be in front! Father, Mother, come Thou as my living, as my ever present Saviour and dwell in this weak, trembling heart! Thy will be done. If it be Thy pleasure that at length Salvation shall be mine, permit me to begin to ascend its steps. But whatever happened, Father, hide not Thy face from this poor child, for then assuredly I perish." On the occasion of a visit to the Pareshnath Hills he writes: "May this scene with its ennobling, elevating associations, with its beauty and solemnity, often come before my mental vision when I am in the plains, far and far down below, and may some gleams of His Presence, which manifests itself in the still and awful silence of these heights, amidst the grandeur of these scenes and the ruggedness of these rocks, sometimes find their way within the recesses of this dark heart and cast a few rays of Heavenly light!" While crossing the Padma on his way back from a mofussil court he felt

drawn to the Heavenly Father "and prayed to Him for His mercy. Spent almost the whole time to Calcutta in good thoughts and prayer. O Lord! wilt Thou make these impressions lasting or was it only a gleam of light to make the subsequent darkness all the darker? Thy will be done!"

The opportunity of such leisure, observation, meditation, thought and prayer was to him another great attraction of moffussil practice. But the frequent absence from Calcutta was highly detrimental to his practice in the High Court. Constant travelling, moreover, often attended, as this was, with hardship and irregularity told heavily on his health.

CHAPTER VI.

Public Life.

When Mr. A. M. Bose, after his return from England, settled in Calcutta, it was not his profession that was uppermost in his mind. As a means of earning his livelihood he had to take up law, but this occupied a very minor place in his heart. On the other hand, his attention and energies were mainly directed to the amelioration of the religious, social, and politcal condition of the country. In the letter which he wrote to Miss Collet from the S. S. *Hindoostan*, we have seen that the situation of his country had been already causing him "not a little anxiety and even sadness." He came back to India with large ideas and elaborate schemes for her advancement, and for thirty years from the day he set foot on Indian soil, he worked strenuously and incessantly for the good of his country. To him it was a part of his religion, the very object and mission of his life, no pastime of spare moments nor the occupation of a leisure hour. The consciousness that he was the servant of his country was the motive-power of all his activities. For thirty years he laboured in various fields of national work, as if his very salvation depended on it. The secret of his long public career came out towards its close, in that memorable address which he delivered in Madras as the President of the fourteenth Indian National Congress.

The motto of "Love and service" which he suggested on the occasion to the assembled representatives of India in his concluding speech on the New Year's Eve, was not a passing idea, a happy catchword improvised for the moment, but the very life-principle which always inspired his thoughts and shaped his conduct. "Do you," asked he, towards the close of his Presidential address, "Do we, Brother Delegates, love that land, the land that gave us birth, the land beloved of the gods, they say, in ages gone by, when the world was young and darkness lay over many of its peoples, the land where knowledge lighted her earliest torch, the arts of life and civilization found their home, and philosophy pondered deep over the problems of life, where Rishis sang those hymns to the Father in the shining sky, the earliest of the Aryan world, which still live and throb in our hearts, where the eyes of the seer saw the visions of things not of this world ; that land where, after ages, the sundered streams of Aryan life unite once again in these present days ? That land, Brother Delegates, deserves all our love. Love her the more, cling to her the closer for her misfortunes of the past, for the shadows and the clouds that have hung over her in the times that have gone." It was this love for the ancient Motherland, which was the secret of and key to the public life of Ananda Mohan Bose. He was caught in its grip early in life, and under the sway of this passion he lived and laboured without knowing any rest or thinking of any reward. Whatever was for the good

of India was to Ananda Mohan Bose dearer than life itself. He returned to India in November 1874, and from that day forth his life flowed out in a hundred channels of beneficence and usefulnesss. At that time commenced an epoch memorable in the history of modern India. The last quarter of the nineteenth century was a period of most strenuous activity, re. ligious, social, political, and educational, and Ananda Mohan Bose was in the very centre of all this. His return to India was signalised by the inauguration of a number of powerful movements and useful institutions, a fuller account of which, together with the part that he played in connection with them, will be found in subsequent chapters.

In this work Mr. Bose was fortunate in having for his colleagues some of the very best men that modern India has produced. It was really a marvellous epoch, which witnessed the conjunction of so many stars of the first magnitude. In his religious work, he had for his colleague and fellow-worker Pandith Sivanath Sastri. The two worked together hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder, through many a trial and struggle. They had known each other before Mr. Bose went to England, but it was after his return, and more specially in ehe dark days which followed the second schism in the Brahmo Samaj consequent upon the marriage of the eldest daughter of Keshub Chandra Sen with the minor Maharaja of Cooch Behar, that the two were thrown into closest followship.

In his political labours Mr. Bose had Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea as his able and illustrious colleague. The association in this field of two such distinguished sons of Bengal, was an important event, leading to the happiest results. (They first came across each other in England about 1871 ; and it was there that Mr. Bose recommended to his friend the Life and Writings of Mazzini, the study of which fiast suggtsted to Mr. Banerjea, the idea of devoting his life to the service of his Motherland. But this was as yet only a fleeting idea. Then came that great blessing, in the guise of a calamity, the dismissal of Mr. Banerjea from the Indian Civil Service. Mr. Bose was still in England, and did all he could to redress the wrong that had been done to his friend. On the 27th June 1874 he writes to Miss Collet : "I have been very busy lately, particularly looking into all the evidence and proceedings connected with Surendra Nath Banerjea's case." Mr. Banerjea finally returned to India in June 1875. (Mr. Bose had already begun his service of the Motherland and into this higher service he invited and initiated his friend, now relieved of the trammels of Government service. Immediately after his return from England, Mr. Bose had established a Student's Association, for the benefit of the students of Calcutta. His brilliant University career, both in India and England, combined with his wonderful eloquence and earnestness, soon made him a power among the Calcutta students. Hundreds of students joined the

novel institution. The Students' Association became a powerful and attractive organisation for the uplifting of the youug men of Calcutta. When Mr, Banerjea returned to India Mr. Bose associated him in his own work among the students of Calcutta, gradually bringing him within the organisation of the Students' Association, and entrusing to his hands, who at this period had more time at his disposal, more and more of its work and responsibility, while he withdrew himself into other spheres, which demanded his attention more urgently. In 1876 the Indian Association of Calcutta was establisded ; Mr. Bose became its Secretary and utilised the services of Mr. Banerjea as its lecturer and agent. In 1884 he withdrew from the office of the Secretary, installing Mr. Banerjea in his place. In 1879 Mr. Bose founded the City School and appointed Mr. Banerjea one of its teachers ; and in this way Mr. Banerjea was introduced into the several fields of work, in which he was afterwards to render such memorable services. The relation between the two friends remained intimate and cordial to the end. Hand in hand they fought many a battle : and in his last conscious moments, just before that sleep from which he would not wake again, Mr. Bose's last spoken message was for his old and trusting colleague.

In his educational work, Mr. Bose found a faithful friend and helper in his friend Mr. Umesh Chandra Dutta, Mr. Bose valued him very much for his persevering energy and sound business capacity. Similarly,

in Messrs. Durga Mohan Das and Dwarka Nath Ganguli he found most earnest and liberal collegues, in his endeavours after the spread of education among women. But while each of those distinguished persons rendered valuable services to the particular department which he had chosen for his life-work, and on which he mainly concentrated his energy, Mr. Bose was interested in all and worked equally earnestly and indefatigably for all. To every one of them he rendered services which were invaluable.

Ananda Mohan's name will go down to posterity indissolubly connected with the political, educational and religious progress of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. His energies, however, were not confined to these three channels of activity alone. There was not a useful undertaking in Calcutta during his life-time with which Mr. A. M. Bose did not warmly associate himself, or in which he did not heartily co-operate. In every important function, whether joyous or sorrowful, at every emergency, Mr. A. M. Bose was at the very front to take up his share of the burden. Whether it was the agitation on the Vernacular Press Act, an Education Commission, the whirlwind of the Ilbert Bill panic, or the Sea-voyage Movement, he was equally active, invariably saying the right word and doing the right thing.

Towards the end of 1885 he was nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor to a seat in the Bengal Legislative Council. He was then away at Dhubri on professional

business. On the 24th December we find the following entry in his diary; "In the evening about 7-30 P.M., got a most unexpected telegram from Jagadish informing that L.-G, has written asking for my consent to his nominating me for the Bengal Council and submitting it to the Viceroy for sanction. Jagadish also asked me to telegraph my consent. I felt sorry that there were no friends near me to consult, as there were so many considerations both for and against my acceptance of the proffered honour. The consideration that prevailed with me in the end was the thought that by accepting it I could perhaps be of greater service to some of the causes with which I was connected and which were dear to my heart, and that though my voice, in the persent constitution of the Council would count perhaps for nothing in the council-chamber, yet I might be in a position privately at least to place before the powers that be the thoughts and legitimate aspirations of New India and obtain for them some chance of a hearing. My occasional absence in the mofussil in professional engagements seemed to me however to present another difficulty, and it appeared to me that I had no right in any case to accept the nomination without specially referring this matter to the Lieutenant-Governor. An intimation of my views had to be sent without delay and accordingly at about 8-30 P. M, I despatched the following telegram, which I transcribe below; From A, M. Bose, Barrister-at-law, Dhubri, to the Private Secretary

to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Belvedere, Calcutta, "Thanks for His Honor's nomination of me for Bengal Council. Will gladly accept if His Honor thinks my acceptance consistent with my occasional absence in the mofussil." Friends urged him to accept the offer. On the 26th he writes; "Telegram from Dugra Mohan Babu from Dacca asking me to accept L. G.'s offer and not to hesitate. In the evening received L.-G.'s letter enclosed in Mohiny's, who also strongly urged to the same effect. The letter, I find, is from L.-G. himself and in his own hand, and not from his Private Secretary as I had thought, couched in very kind terms, saying it would give him much pleasure if I would consent to accept his nomination. Answerd his letter to the same effect as in telegram of the 24th." On the 2nd January he writes again; "Owing to the expression of my hesitation in accepting the Lieutenant-Governor's offer, was uncertain as to the upshot of the affair. But from a telegram received early this morning from Woomesh Babu intimating the fact of my being requested to attend the meeting of the Council on the 2nd January, knew that in spite of my letter I had been appointed to the Council. My feeling was not one of elation, but of abasement and anxious supplication to God." The nomination, at the time of which we write, was a great and unusual honour, but here we have a glimpse of the spirit in which he received such distinctions. The sense of responsibility overshadowed all other

thoughts. Personal aggrandisement never entered into his consideration; opportunities of public service were his sole end. Twice more did he sit in the Bengal Legislative Council, on these occasions not nominated by the Government, but called by the voice of his countrymen, once in 1895-97, as representative of the University of Calcutta, and again in 1900 as the representative of the Municipalities of the Dacca Division. It is not necessary to refer in any detail to the work which he was able to do in the Bengal Legislative Council. The work of a non-official member of the Legislative Council is not a very tangible nature. Suffice it to say that during his three terms of office as a member of the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. Bose did not let any opportunity pass to benefit his country and countrymen, without doing the utmost in his power. At the end of first session he wrote in his diary: "Last sitting for the Session of the Legislative Council. One half my work is over. Thank God that it has not been in vain." When Mr. Bose, whose high ideal of usefulness made him an exacting task-master to himself, could look upon his own work with satisfaction, we may be sure that the services he had rendered were of a substantial nature. His most notable work during the first term of his office was in connection with the Chowkidari Bill, the objectionable nature of which he exposed in a most lucid manner. As he had anticipated he was able to do greater good by private rpresentations than by public remonstrances. With reference

to the Adulteration Bill of 1886 he writes: "This Bill was originally drawn up only for Calcutta, but I made some suggestions with regard to the extension of the Bill to all the Municipalities of Bengal which were accepted by the L. G. I was in the Select Committee which met on the 20th and the Bill was recast exactly on the lines suggested by me."

He was held in high regard even by officials, for his independence and moderations. He was personally acquainted with at least three Viceroys, who often sought his counsel on important matters. Lord Ripon, especially, held him in great esteem, and highly valued his advice. Indeed in this case the relationship was rather one of friendship than that of dependence on a helpful public man. Mr. Fawcett had mentioned his name to the newly-appointed Viceroy, advising him to take his opinion on important matters; and on his arrival Lord Ripon lost no time in seeking out Mr. Bose. After this he was a frequent guest, both at Government House in Calcutta, and at Barrackpur, where long hours would pass, in quiet talk on various topics. He was frequently sent for, at almost any hour of day or night, and even after his retirement from India Lord Ripon never forgot his esteem for this faithful adviser whose death occurred some three years before his own. Lord Dufferin also knew and respected Mr. Bose. On the 16th January 1888 he writes in his diary: "Saw Lord Dufferin in the afternoon. In the course of conversation he told me he had been whipped

thirteen times when he was a little boy, and though the son of a nobleman, he had, when he joined a public school, to black the shoes of the son of the man who was tailor to his father (i. e. became his fag.)"

Another matter which deserves special mention is his work on behalf of temperance and social purity. Mr. A. M. Bose was emphatically a puritan. Not only was he himself a strict teetotaler and maintained his principle of total abstinence everywhere and in the midst of great temptations, but even from his youth upward he exerted all his influence in the cause of abstinence. He was most keen and uncompromising in his opposition to drinking. Similarly, he never tolerated anything, either in deed, word or suggestion, which had any tinge of impurity or indecency. His sympathy and co-operation were ready for every sort of temperance movement. At the time of his death, and for many years before, he was the president of the Metropolitan Temperance and Purity Association. At many of the Social Conferences, and especially at the Social Conference at Madras in 1898, he spoke most strongly and earnestly on the purity and temperance question. It may be mentioned in passing, as a distinguished person once remarked, that amongst Congress Presidents Mr. Bose was one of the few who condescended to attend the meeting of the Social Conference and took a lively interest in the proceedings of the session. This was indeed a noticeable feature of his public life. To him no duty was insignificant

or negligible. A duty was a duty—great or small. To mention one example, he was a Commissioner, and later on Chairman, of the small municipality at Dum-Dum, within the boundary of which his country-house was situated. To others it might seem that the work of such a small municipality was too trifling to deserve serious notice. But throughout his connection with it, even in times when there was a great demand on his time and attention on account of matters of national importance, he scrupulously attended the meetings of the municipality, and devoted much thought and energy to its work. He had a high conception of civic duty. It was not so much the importance of the work, which weighed with him, but the feeling that he was responsible to those who had elected him for the welfare of the place.

Our newly-awakened enthusiasm for the industrial and economic regeneration of the country, brings us to another aspect of Ananda Mohan Bose's many-sided activity. Fully a quarter of a century before the present movement, when as yet there was not a whisper about economic development, he was awake to the overwhelming needs of India in this respect. Always ready to sacrifice himself, always possessed of the courage of his convictions, it goes without saying that in such a period he could scarcely fail to enter on some undertakings in which he would not be destined to achieve success. Genius and personality are not substitutes for economic training and the co-operation

of subordinates dominated by ideals of mercantile integrity and accustomed to the regular habits of modern business. In these rash undertakings it is sufficient to say that Mr. Bose himself was always the heaviest loser; and it may be well to point out how much a people owes for the success of its subsequent attempts, to the failures of just such pioneers as he was. We do not sufficiently realise that one of the essential conditions of fortunate business ventures, is the trained community behind them. Even yet, we in India are not in a position to offer this in any great measure to the economic adventurer, and as long as this is so, it is only too likely that the necessary attempts will be confined to a few of our noblest and best; and that an undue proportion of failure will be their reward.

So long a list of services falls naturally under many different headings, and some of these we shall take up and recount in greater detail, in the following chapters.

CHAPTER VII

Political Work

A very large portion of Mr. A. M. Bose's public life was spent in the field of politics; and here his work was entirely of a constructive nature. He inaugurated a new era in Indian political struggle. When he returned from England he came back with the idea of organising an All-India political association for promoting the interests of India. Up to this time there had been nothing of this nature. There were indeed a few organizations here and there, but these neither represented nor safe-guarded the interests of the whole country, nor were they as vigorous and efficient in their work as such institutions should be. At any rate Mr. Bose's conception of a national political organization was of a very different nature. Fresh from the West he had in his mind the great historical party organizations of England, with their branches all over the country, vigilant and strenuous in furthering the interests for which they stood. He saw clearly that with the growing complexity of the political situation in India occasional sporadic public meetings were not enough, a vigorous and permanent organization for watching over the interests and affairs of India being absolutely necessary. He accordingly conceived the grand idea of a central national association with branches all over the country, for systematic, organized, and

strenuous work to secure political rights and redress national wrongs. No sooner had he settled in Calcutta than he began to move for the establishment of such an institution. The idea was warmly approved by some friends to whom he communnunicated his plan ; and they began to canvass actively for the sympathy and support of the leading citizens of Calcutta. Mr. Bose felt that an organisation like what he thought of must have, to be successful, the sympathy and support of all sections of the people, and he proceeded slowly and carefully to secure the good-will of all, the rich and the poor, the old and the young, the landed aristocracy and the educated middle class. And he was eminently successful in his efforts. Men like the late Mr. Monomohan Ghose, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, and Pandit Siva Nath Sastri heartily joined the movement. Even the venerable Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, whom he took pains to consult, blessed the plan. But to carry it out properly was a question of time. Mr. Bose's idea was to consult every leading man, who might be helpful, before going to the public. In the meanwhile some friends, in whom he had great confidence and to whom he had commuuicated his ideas, hastily called a meeting and started an institution of the nature he was working for, under the name of the Indian League. Without his knowledge they included his name in the Committee of the League. Mr. Bose was annoyed, but did not take any step to dissociate himself from this. For some time he eagerly watched the proceedings of the new

institution; but he soon found out that it would not serve the purpose which he had in view. So at the earnest request of his friends he proceeded with the working out of his own plan, and on the 26th of July 1876 he started the Indian Association; the promoters of the League offered some opposition, which, however, was ineffectual. Mr. Bose continued to be a member of the committee of the Indian League for some time. but when the name of his friend, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, was disgracefully and unconstitutionally removed from the list of its members, he severed his connection with it in disgust. In course of time the Indian League died a natural death. The Indian Association, on the other hand, steadily gained in importance, and, as was claimed in its tenth annual report, "created a new force in the political history of the country. That organised system of agitation extending from one end of the country to the other, which now excites so much attention, and which has become an accepted feature of the political life of the present generation, was the work of the Indian Association."

Mr. Rose became its first Secretary and for the next ten years he worked incessantly for it. All his political activities were centred round it; with that complete self-effacement that was a characteristic of him, he merged himself in the new institution, and his political life and work were indistinguishably blended with the life and work of the Indian Association. In Mr. Surendra Nath

Banerjea, who, being freed from the trammels of Government service, had now ample time at his disposal, the Association found a devoted and eloquent lecturer. In the very first of its existence, Mr. Banerjea was sent as a delegate of the Association to the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces, now known, as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. In this arduous tour, Mr. Banerjea was accompanied by his friend Mr. Nagendra Nath Chatterjea. They succeeded in establishing branch Associations in several places, notably one at Lahore, which soon became the centre of political activity in the Punjab. Several other gentlemen of culture and influence travelled in other parts of the country as delegates of the Indian Association and Mr. Bose remained at the centre, organising and directing these operations. Under his guidance, and through the zeal of the workers, a network of branch Associations soon sprang up all over the country. Expressions of sympathy and support poured in from Bombay, Madras, the Punjab, and other places.

The first question of national importance which the Indian Association took up was in connection with the lowering of the limit of age for the Civil Service Examination by Lord Salisbury in 1877. The Indian Association held a public meeting in the Calcutta Town Hall and organised an All-India protest against this measure. The delegates of the Association went to distant towns not only in Bengal but also in the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab, Bombay and Madras, to agitate

in the matter. Meetings were held everywhere in protest against the new regulation. For the first time in the history of India there was witnessed a united national demonstration for the redressing of a national grievance. A Report of the Indian Association thus describes the event: "Under the auspices of the Association a pubic meeting was held in the Town Hall, and an agitation was commenced, the first of its kind in India, which extended from Calcutta to Lahore and from Lahore to Madras. It was then clearly demonstrated, that all India, in spite of differences of race and religion, was capable of being united for a common politieal purpose. Such an instance of united action had never before been witnessed." The agitation was not confined to India. Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose was sent over to England to move the British public to a sense of justice, over this and other questions connected with the polititcal welfare of the country.

A more important and serious matter was soon to engage the attention of the Indian Association. On the 14th of March 1878 the notorious Vernacular Press Act was passed in one sitting of the Legislative Council by Lord Lytton's Government. The Indian Association at once set about to organise a mighty protest against this retrograde measure. It was resolved to hold a protest meeting in the Town Hall of Calcutta; and in order to make the meeting representative of the entire Indian people, letters were sent to public bodies and to men of eminence and position in different parts

of the country, inviting the expression of their opinions. The following is taken from a report of the proceedings published at the time. "Pursuant to a notice issued by Mr. A. M. Bose on behalf of the Indian Association a public meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta and its vicinity was held at the Town Hall, on Wednesday, the 17th April 1878 at 5-30 P.M., to consider the desirability of petitioning Parliament on the subject of the Vernacular Press Act. It was perhaps the most numerously attended meeting that had ever been held in Calcutta. Long before the appointed time, the spacious Hall became quite full and hundreds had to go away disappointed, owing to the absence of even standing accommodation. About five thousand persons must have been present. Great enthusiasm prevailed throughout the proceedings which lasted for four hours. Dr. K. M. Banerjea having been voted to the chair, Mr. A. M. Bose gave a *precis* of the correspondence which had been received form all parts of India, expressing the strongest sympathy with the object of that day's meeting. He observed that a more unanimous testimony could not have been afforded of the feeling evoked throughout India by the sudden and precipitate passing of the Vernacular Press Act, than was afforded by the numerous letters which had been received by the Indian Association from Associations as well as distinguished individuals in various parts of the country." Several resolutions were passed and a Committee was for drafting and presenting

a memorial to Parliament. Mr. Bose was appointed Secretary of the Committee and the main burden of the work fell upon him. An able and closely reasoned memorial was drafted, and the late Mr. W. E. Gladstone was prevailed upon to present the memorial to the House af Commons. The followipg extract from the second annual report of the Indian Association will give a brief account of the subsequent events in this connection. "Mr. Gladstone presented the petition in July. Almost immediately after, the Committee sent a telegram to him, inquiring when the debate was to take place. A reply was received mentioning the date of the expected debate but soon after the presentaion of the petition, there was published in this country the Despatch of the Secretary of State for India on the Vernacular Press Act. The Committee felt that after the publication of so important a document, it was necessary to communicate to Mr. Gladstone the views of the people of this country. This was done in the following telegram which was sent to him; 'Lord Cranbrook's Despatch unsatisfactory; right of judicial trial withheld; Government remain prosecutor, witness, judge, in the same person. Why trial for sedition, extortion, intimidation by Vernacular editor excluded from jurisdiction of Courts? Oriental books still under ban.' At length the long expected debate which had been twice postponed, came on the 23rd of July. Mr. Gladstone moved that reports of all cases in which action should

be taken under the Press Law should be reported to the House. There was a very full House, one of the largest, if not the largest, in whose presence an Indian question was ever discussed. Mr. Gladstone indeed, lost his motion ; but the debate conclusively showed that the sense of the House was decidedly against the Press Act. The Government gained the day ; but it was only by the very small majority of 35 votes. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the effect of this discussion on public opinion in England. When the Act was passed almost the entire body of the English Press welcomed the measure as being necessary to meet a growing evil of such a formidable character, and as being essential to the maintenance of the British rule in this country. But one of the most pleasing results of the discussion was a very marked change in the tone and temper of English feeling with regard to the Act. Even journals which may not unfairly be described as pledged to support the views of the Government, felt that, as regards the Vernacular Press Act, the British Government in India had allowed itself to be scared by a phantom, and had committed a serious mistake."

The entire agitation was carried on in a most prompt, vigorous and efficient manner : and though everything was done in the name of the committee of the Indian Association, the main credit of the conception, as well as the execution of the campaign, belonged to Mr. Bose. He did not stop here. On the 6th

September another public meeting was held in the Town Hall to express the gratitude of the people to Mr. Gladstone. It was resolved to present an address to Mr. Gladstone, and a standing committee to watch the operation of the Vernacular Press Act, and take such steps as might be considered desirable in order to secure the ultimate repeal of the law, was formed, Mr. Bose again being appointed its Secretary. The address was neatly printed on parchment, and was duly forwarded to Mr. Gladstone, who acknowledged it in graceful terms. The standing committee sent up a representation, suggesting certain modifications in the law, fifty copies of of which were sent for by the Secretary to the Legislative Department of the Government ef India.

On the out-break of the Afghan War the Indian Association took steps to prevent any portion of the cost of the war being charged to the Indian revenues. An appeal was addressed to the leading members of the House of Commons asking them to protect the Indian revenues from bearing any portion of the cost of this Afghan War, and subsequently, when the remission of the import duties on a large class of cotton goods was ordered by the Government, the Committee organised a public meeting in the Town Hall in which the following resolutions were passed.

Resolution I. That having regard to the imperial character of the war undertaken against Afghanistan, to the intention of the 55th Clause of the Government of India Act of 1858, and the declarations of the

responsible ministers of the Crown in relation thereto, and having regard also to the present financial position of India, this meeting is of opinion that the whole cost of the Afghan War should not be charged to the Indian Revenue.

Resolution. II. That in view of the serious financial embarrassments of the country—with a deficit of nearly five millions, inclusive of expenditure on productive public works, with a heavy yearly loss to the Indian revenues consequent on the depreciation of silver and a war that is still being waged on the frontier, and in view also of the comparative unsuitability of direct taxation as regards the people of this country, and the difficulty in recouping any loss incurred by sacrificing any of the present sources, of revenue, and of the declaration of Parliament that the duties are to be abolished when the financial position of the country admits of it, this meeting begs to record its emphatic protest against the recent resolution of the Government of India, exempting a large class of cotton goods from import duty.

A memorial on tbe subject was also addressed to Parliament, and presented by Mr. Gladstone to the House of Commons; and Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose was again sent to England as a delegate of the Association. Going thus, in 1880, on the eve of the general Election, he also carried with him an address to the electors of the United Kingdom, sent by the Committee of the Indian Association.

But the Indian Association was not content with merely organising public meetings and presenting memorials to the Government. One of its main objects was to diffuse political education. The public meetings and memorials had an educative effect, but unfortunately this was confined to the educated classes alone. For the real progress of the country it was essential that the uneducated millions should be uplifted. The problem was indeed a stupendous one and it must be mentioned, to the credit of the Indian Association, that it did not ignore it. A public meeting was held under the auspices of the Association on the 9th July 1879, in which the following resoluton, clearly indicating the hand of Mr. Bose, was adopted : "That this meeting, convinced of the importance of elementary education for the masses of the people of this country—as the great means for the elevation of their character, and the improvement of their condition, and as the true basis of all national progress—hereby resolves to organise a movement which shall seek to diffuse elementary education among the masses by establishing schools for their use in Calcutta and elsewhere, and by other means calculated to promote the same end." A committee was formed to give effect to this resolution, of which Mr. Bose was appointed the Secretary.

The general election of 1880 resulted in the overthrow of the Conservative party and the accession of the Liberals to power. As the Liberal leaders, while in opposition, had shown great sympathy with the views

and aspirations of the Indian Association, this result was hailed with joy, and a public meeting was held in the Town Hall under the auspices of the Committee, to express the rejoicings of the Indian community at the result of the elections, and to adopt a memorial to Parliament for the repeal of those repressive measures, which had been enacted under the Government of Lord Lytton. This memorial was in due course despatched to Mr. Chesson for presentation to the House of Commons.

Now ensued a short spell of happiness for India. The immediate result of the Liberal victory, and Mr. Gladstone's newly-awakened consciousness of Indian needs was that in 1880 Lord Ripon came out as Viceroy and Governor-General. The Indian Association presented him with an address of welcome in which they pointed out the objectionable features of the Arms Act, the Vernacular Press Act, and the License-tax Act, and Lord Ripon intimated, through his private secretary, that their representation would receive his most anxious consideration.

Even before the arrival of Lord Ripon, the committee of the Indian Association had taken up the question of self-government. The concluding paragraph of the third annual report of the Association contained the following passage:—"The great question of the future is the question of representative Government for India. The Association has already taken up this question, and at the annual meeting recently held, a special

committee was appointed to draft a scheme. The agitation in connection with this question must extend over years and the Association have resolved to raise a fund for purposes of agitation" The question was indeed taken up with great earnestness and vigour. Mr. Bose opened a correspondence on the subiect with men of thought and eminence, both in India and England, and collected a considerable body of useful information bearing upon the question of representative Government. Feeling that local self-government must precede national self-government, the committee of the Indian Association isued a circular letter addressed to the district towns throughout Bengal, inviting them to petition the Lieutenant-Governor under the provisions of section 16 of the Bengal Municipal Act, for the introduction of the elective system in the constitution of their Municipalities. The delegates of the Association visited several towns to induce them to take action as directed by its circular letter. It was at this stage that the famous resolution of the Government of Lord Ripon on local self-government was published. The committee of the Indian Association after ascertaining the views of the country on the scheme, drafted a memorial, thanking the Government for the proposed measure, and suggesting certain modifications. A public meeting was held in the Town Hall, which was very largely attended, and various public bodies in all parts of the country sent letters of sympathy with the object of the meeting. The following Resolution was passed

amid great enthusiasm : That this meeting feels deeply grateful to His Excellency the Viceroy, for his recent Resolution, which seeks to confer upon the people of this country the inestimable boon of local self-government, and ventures to express its earnest and confident hope that the measures adopted by His Excellency for the purpose will be of such a character as to secure a fair and satisfactory working of the scheme. And with this view this meeting would respectfully beg to make the following recommendations :—(1) That the constitution of the Local Boards and of the Municipalities should be based on the elective system. (2) That their Chairman should be an officer elected by them, and on no account be the Magistrate-Collector of the District. (3) That the functions and powers vested in the existing committees should be increased, in view of their amalgamation in the proposed Local Boards." By this time the pernicious Vernacular Press Act, against which the Indian Association had waged an uncompromising war, had been repealed, and the following Resolution thanking the Viceroy for this fact was also passed at the same meeting : "That this meeting begs to tender its respectful and hearty thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy in Council, and to Her Majesty's Government, for the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act ; and gratefully accepts it as an earnest of the many reforms to which the Goverment is pledged, and which the country so urgently needs."

The next year witnessed the strange up-heaval connected with the Ilbert Bill. Early in 1883 a small Bill was introduced into the Legislative Council in fulfilment of a promise made by the head of the Government, and in pursuance of the declared policy of the Government itself, to equalise the position of the Indian and European members of the Civil Service. At once the Anglo-Indian community raised a campaign, not only of uncompromising hostility to the Bill, but also of vulgar abuse of the Indians, and intimidation of the Viceroy himself, creating bitter race-hatred. This small Bill which had aimed at nothing more than to set right a manifest inequality, thus led to a storm of agitation on the part of the Anglo-Indians and was quickly followed by a counter-agitation in the Indian community, the like of which had never been witnessed before. Mr. Bose was in the very thick of it all. Meetings, demonstrations, conferences were held at frequent intervals ; and the excitement reached its climax when, in May 1883, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea was convicted and sentenced by a full Bench of the Calcutta High Court, presided over by Sir Richard Garth—Justice Romes Chandra Mitter dissenting,—to two months' imprisonment on a chage of contempt of Court. In an article in Mr. Banerjea's paper, the *Bengalee*, written by Mr. Ashutosh Biswas, recently assassinated by an anarchist at Alipore, Mr. Justice Norris of the Calcutta High Court was likened to Jeffreys and Scroggs, two notoriously oppressive English judges, for asking that

a Hindu god, the *Saligram,* should be produced in Court for purposes of evidence. Mr. Banerjea, who would not give the name of the writer, published an apology for the offence, but was not exempted from punishment. The whole country was excited to a fury of passion, at the incarceration of Mr. Banerjea. The Indian Association organised a protest meeting, which was to be held in the Town Hall. But on the previous night it was made known that the Town Hall would not be allowed for holding the meeting. The following entry in Mr. Bose's diary, evidently noted down in the midst of great hurry and excitement, will indicate the situation : "The Indian Association meeting, Wednesday 16th May. The innumerable anxieties of that meeting. Learnt at 10 P. M. or later previous night from Ashu, who had seen Harrison, that the Town Hall would not be available. Visit to Dwari Babu's, divided counsels and anxious deliberation till 1. 15 A. M. Determined upon meeting, call next morning on Indra Chandra, no place fixed till 10. 30. A, M. Rajendra Mullick declining the use of his compound. Numbers of students coming, printing of slips—students' enthusiasm and almost unimaginable activity. Going to secure speakers.—council at Palit's and alteration of resolution at the last moment—unprecedented success of the meeting—20,000 present, delegates, telegrams, letters, etc. Thank God for this measure of success beyond all expectation." The meeting was held in Beadon Square.

The agitation did not stop here. The important question of the jurisdiction of the High Court to punish summarily in cases of contempt not committed in its view, had not been considered by the High Court, though it was directly raised by the affidavit of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea. The committee of the Indian Association, therefore, thought it very desirable to convene a meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta and its suburbs to move the Viceroy to make a reference to the Privy Council, to have this question authoritatively settled. The reference having been made to the Privy Council, it was held by their Lordships that the High Court possesses the summary jurisdiction, which it had exercised in the case. This decision was, of course, unsatisfactory, and was not accepted as a final settlement of the question. Advantage was taken of the popular excitement and enthusiasm to raise a national fund for national purposes.

At this time, Lord Ripon had been much abused and maligned by the Anglo-Indian Press and community on account of his sympathy with the Indian people. The Indian Association therefore resolved to give His Excellency a grand reception on his return to Calcutta from Simla. The efforts of the Association were crowned with complete success. Nearly a hundred thousand people were assembled on the occasion, and lined the road, all the way from Howrah railway station to Government House. Everywhere the Viceroy was received with the utmost enthusiasm. The Viceregal

carriage was filled with flowers, and at every available interval Indian music enlivened the scene. Such a cordial public reception it has never been the fortune of any of his predecessors to receive.

About this time the Indian Association inaugurated another undertaking which might be called the precursor of the Indian National Congress. The Committee of the Indian Association had been thinking for some time past of organising a National Congress of representatives from all the provinces of India. The International Exhibition, held in Calcutta in 1883, was expected to bring together a large number of visitors from all parts of India to the metropolis. The Committee of the Indian Association wisely decided to take advantage of this, and resolved to hold a National Conference. Truly speaking, this might be called the first Indian National Congress. Its aim and scope were exactly the same as those of the Indian National Congress of to-day. The Conference was held for three days from the 28th December to the 30th. Delegates from all parts of the country were present; and amongst the subjects considered were Industrial and Technical Education, Representative Councils, a National Council and the Ilbert Bill.

That the organisers of the Conference contemplated a truly national organisation will be seen from the following extract from the seventh annual report of the Indian Association regarding the Conference: "It is to be hoped," says the Report; "that this Conference

marks the beginning of a great experiment, which, by bringing together, at least once in the course of the year, representatives from the most distant parts of the country, will prepare the way for that thorough concert in our political programme, and that perfect union in the execution of the programme, upon which alone must rest the hope of our political advancement." Next year a second Conference was held from the 25th to 29th December, which was much more representative in character; for, besides the representatives of most of the districts of Bengal, delegates were present from several towns in Northern India, such as Meerut, Benares and Allahabad. Bombay was represented in the person of one of its most illustrious citizens, the Hon. Rao Shaheb V. N. Mandlik. The idea of a representative national assembly being taken up by others, under whose auspices it was likely to be more successful, the Indian Association afterwards discontinued its National Conference and heartily co-operated with the Indian National Congress, which was then being organised by such a distinguished Englishman as Mr. A. O. Hume. Mr. Hume had risen to one of the highest posts in the service of the Indian State, and, on his retirement from the Civil Service, was giving the best of his time and energy to the noble cause of bringing to a focus the public opinion of educated India. Mr. Bose had the very highest regard for Mr. Hume. On the 7th April, 1886, he writes in his diary: "Went to Hume's to bid him

good-bye, but did not find him at home. What a noble-hearted man ! God bless him for all the precious work he is doing for us, more I suppose than all of us put together."

In 1884 the scheme of Local Self-Government came into operation, and the Indian Association anxiously watched the beginnings of the great experiment. The Association addressed the Government several times on the subject, and sent round a circular to the leaders of the educated community in the mofussil, asking them to take an intererst in the elections and to elect a non-official Chairman, wherever practicable. In the same year, the Association addressed a further communication to the Government of India, urging the desirability of separating from the work of the District Officers those judicial and executive functions which in so many parts of India had proved a fruitful source of serious miscarriage of justice. The death of Mr. Henry Fawcett, the old friend of Mr. Bose, occurred about this time, and a message of condolence was sent to Mrs. Fawcett in the name of the Committee of the Indian Association.

On the completion of the eighth year of the Indian Association, having had the pleasure of seeing the institution firmly established as a power in the country, Mr. Bose resigned the post of its Hony. Secretary in 1885. There is the following entry in his diary under the date of 28th February, 1885, in this connection : "Annual meeting of the Indian Association in the

afternoon. Resigned my office of Secretary, which I have held for more than eight years, ever since the foundation of the Association. I felt it my duty to do so in spite of many only too kind requests and wishes to the contrary ; so that there might be a change after this long time, and any difficulty which may possibly have been felt in some quarters in the way of joining the Association on account of my humble individuality or religious conviction might no longer exist." Here we catch a glimpse of the high-minded worker that Ananda Mohan was to the end of his life. Lest his continuance in the office of Secretary might be prejudicial to the interests of the institution, he voluntarily resigned the office and insisted on its acceptance by anothor. Though he was no longer the Secretary, his interest in the welfare of the Indian Association remained unabated.

When Mr. Bose resigned the Secretaryship of the Indian Association, it had reached a height of influence and usefulness not hitherto attained by any other institution of its kind in India. Under his wise guidance, and through his strenuous labours, it had practically become the mouthpiece of the educated community of Bengal. A few years after this, Mr. Bose was elected one of the Vice-Presidents of the Indian Association, and later on its President, which office he was compelled to retain till his death, though during the last few years, owing to ill-health, he could not take part in much active work.

As soon as the Indian National Congress was organised, Mr. A. M. Bose became one of its most enthusiastic supporters. We have already seen the high regard that he had for Mr. Hume. To his endeavours, he gave his cordial support. On the 22nd March 1885, he writes in his diary: "Called on Hume at Mr. M. Ghose's. It is a pleasure and an honour to know a man like him, one who may be said to have devoted himself to the cause of missionary labour on behalf of India. May God bless his noble heart and grant success to his noble efforts! Had talk with him principally about the National Telegraphing Agency matter. He has already raised more than Rs. 400 a month at Bombay, Rs. 200 a month in two or three other Bombay centres (Poona, Ahmedabad and Surat), nearly Rs. 300 a month in Madras, and wants Rs. 350 a month from Calcutta, to complete the amount of Rs. 1,250 a month, necessary to give effect to their plan. In the evening went again to Ghose's where there was a conference on the subject; and a sum of Rs. 150 a month was subscribed on the spot by the 15 persons or so present. This was a much better beginning than *I had ventured to hope* for, and there is no doubt now that the requisite Rs. 350 a month will be raised in Calcutta." Mr. Bose frequently attended the meetings of the Indian National Congress, and in its councils his sound and judicious views were always held in the highest regard. With the advance of age and ill-health he could not take as active a part in public affairs as he had done in earlier

years; but his advice was sought with increasing eagerness. In 1895, the first really representative Provincial Conference of Bengal was held at Berhampore. Before this, some Provincial Conferences had been held in Cacutta, but these had not attracted much attention. They were usually attended by Calcutta men, with some chance visitors from the mofussil. With a view to enlisting the sympathy of mofussil towns, and making the Conference really representative, it was proposed to hold it henceforth in the chief of these by turns. Berhampore was the first city in Bengal to invite the re-organised Provincial Conference, and Mr. Bose, the inaugurator of organised political work, was fitly elected its President. The Conference which met in June, 1895, was a splendid success, owing not a little to the personality of the President himself.

Ananda Mohun Bose took a particular delight in associating young men with himself in the work and equipment of the political struggle. It was his peculiar fortune to gather about him, amongst others, such men as Bhupendra Nath Basu, Krishna Kumar Mitter, Heramba Chandra Maitra, Prithwis Chandra Ray and Dr. Nilratan Sircar and to open their way to much useful work in various departments of the Indian political struggle. He not only did this, but, which is more, he watched with almost parental solicitude their services to different causes individually and jointly. In this respect he can be compared with the late Mahadeo Govind Ranade, and, like Ranade, he trusted his lieu-

tenants implicitly and never interfered with their mode of work or their plan of action. Like Ranade again, he had an inborn dislike to all sorts of cant, platitude, and clap-trap, and was anxious to escape all fussy demonstration and show. He invariably insisted that his younger colleagues should avoid cheap popularity and aim at solid and substantial work, after a careful study of the questions involved. Though one of the most powerful speakers of his day, he had not great belief in platform agitation, but like the Irish leader, Parnell, he had an unbounded faith in organisation, and in the value of systematic and whole-hearted methods.

We must now put aside for the present the account of Mr. Bose's political work, and direct our attention to his activities in other fields.

CHAPTER VIII

Educational Work

Mr. A. M. Bose was not a mere platform orator or superficial agitator, but a consummate and far-sighted statesman. His work for the country was based on sound reasoning and wise forethought. Nothing so well illustrates his profound political insight as his earnest and active interest in educational work. Himself the product of education, he laboured throughout his life to further the cause of education by every means within his power. He felt that the awakening of India must proceed from sound education. The future of the country, he distinctly saw, was in the hands of its youth. It was, therefore, that almost immediately after his return from England he began to interest himself in these questions. His enthusiasm for education was no accident ; it was due to his faith in the Indian intellect. The secret of his manifold efforts for the spread of education will be found in the following passage which occurs at the close of a memorable speech which he once delivered at the Indian National Congress, in connection with an educational question. "Gentlemen", observed Mr. Bose, "I believe in the intellect of India. I believe the fire that burned so brightly centuries ago, has not yet wholly died out. I believe there are sparks, aye more than sparks that still exist, and only require the gentle breeze of sym-

pathetic help of judicious organisation, and kindly care, to burst forth once again into that glorious fire which in the past illumined not only this great continent, but shed its lustre over other lands—into that intellectual life which achieved wonders in the field of literature and arts, in the field of mathematics and philosophy, which produced works which are even now the admiration and wonder of the world." With this faith in the intellect of India he turned hopefully to the young men. His very first public attempt was the founding of the Students' Association for supplementing the education imparted by the University. In connection with this he used to deliver weekly addresses, or give readings from books inspiring to young men. The Students' Association soon became a powerful institution for the uplifting of young men in Calcutta. Its members, sometime numbering as many as three to four hundred, were occasionally taken out for excursions. On the occasion of one such excursion to the Dakshineswar garden, Mr. Bose read aloud the description of the crucifixion of Jesus from Renan's *Life of Jesus*. Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, who was one of the party, gave the following account of this at a public meeting held soon after Mr. Bose's death. He said : "I have never heard anything like his reading of the chapter. His face became red, tears were trickling down his cheek ; his voice was choked with emotion and a divine light was shining on his countenance. The assembled young men sat round him

wrapped in awe and admiration, as it were in a picture. We then thought that in this way we also would consecrate ourselves to noble works. Our friend Babu Triguna Charan Sen was present on the occasion. A month afterwards he told me that he had dreamt that Mr. Bose was again reading the story of Jesus' crucifixion from Renan, and his heart was swelling with emotion." So deep an impression was he able to make on the minds of young men.

But Ananda Mohan Bose soon felt that merely to supplement the University course by occasional discourses was not enough, since the system of the University itself required much improvement. He was ready therefore to seize the very first opportunity of making himself serviceable to the Calcutta University. His brilliant career, both here and at Cambridge, soon brought him admission into the Senate. In 1877 he was elected a Fellow, and from that date till the time when he became an invalid, he toiled strenuously and incessantly for the better working of the Calcutta University. He was several times elected a member of the Syndicate, and was on several Boards of Studies, and without ever being an executive officer, he succeeded in directing the policy of the University in a measure to which few others ever succeeded either before or since. His position in the University, and his services to it will be realised from the fact, that, when the privilege of nominting a member to the Bengal Legislative Council was granted, the Senate unanimously elected Mr. Bose as

its first representative in the Bengal Legislative Council in 1895. On his election to the Council, the members of the short-lived Calcutta Universtity Union very appropriately presented to him the following address :—

"We, the members of the Calcutta University Union, composed of graduates and under-graduates of the Calcutta University, have much pleasure in approaching you with this congratulatory address on the occasion of your return to the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor by the Senate of the Calcutta University.

"Of the members of that Senate, great and distinguished as undoubtedly many of them are, none is so peculiarly fitted or so eminently qualified to occupy the position or to enjoy the honour which, we are thankful to say, is yours. Favoured child of your *Alma Mater*, you, Sir, passed through a most distinguished career in this country and having won the 'Blue Ribbon' of our University, you went to England in 1870 to prosecute further studies, and there you shed a lustre upon your country by the acquisition of the highest academic honour, at the gift of one of the two historic Universities. On your return home you placed your splendid talents at the service of your country; as one of the founders of the Indian Association you stand in the front rank of India's regenerators, while the National Conference which you were instrumental in convening during the Calcutta Exhibition of 1884 paved the way for the assemblage of the National Congress.

"You, Sir, are pre-eminently the students' friend:— as the President of the Calcutta Students' Association which has a splendid record of good and patriotic work done, you imparted a very healthy tone to the entire student community, while the college which you have founded and with which your name is honourably associated, has brought English education within the reach even of the most destitute.

"In the matter of legislation, yours is not an untried hand. The great services you rendered in 1886 and 1887 as member of the Bengal Legislative Council have not been forgotten by a grateful public, and your recent election to the same body has been hailed by the country, from one end to the other, and has given universal satisfaction. Once again, healthy public opinion has triumphed over unworthy machinations, the character of the University has been vindicated, and genuine worth acknowledged."

The Government of India had already recognised his services to the cause of education by appointing him a member of the Education Commission of 1882, in which capacity he not only earned the sincere respect of his colleagues, but also gained the confidence of the entire educated community of India.

The Government of 1880 to 1884 furnishes one of the educational epochs in the history of British India. Lord Ripon himself had been prominent amongst the framers of the English Education Bill of 1872. Hence he had a trained perception of the importance of this

factor in the well-being of a country, and in education itself was not likely to undervalue its primary and elementary stages. He was sincerely desirous of promoting the welfare of the Indian people, and of the guiding principle essential to all good government to look for elements already existing amongst the people, and build upon these, to the end desired he had an extraordinary grasp. Few minutes in modern history can be pleasanter reading than the Resolution of Government appointing his Commission for enquiring into the means of extending elementary education on a popular basis. This resolution directs that the actual working of all branches of the Indian educational system is to be considered. It points out that the principal object of the Commission should be "the present state of elementary education throughout the empire, and the means by which this can everywhere be extended and improved." And it proceeds to say that only by Indian men themselves taking the initiative in educational experiments will the native community

"be able to secure *that freedom and variety of education** which is an essential condition in any sound and complete educational system. It is not, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, a healthy symptom that all the youth of the country should be cast, as it were, in the same Government educational mould. Rather is it desirable that each section of the people should be in a position to secure that description of education which is most consonant to its feelings, and suited to its wants. The Government is ready, therefore, to do all that it can to foster such a spirit of independence and self-help. It is willing to hand over any of its own colleges or schools in suitable cases to bodies of native gentlemen who will undertake to manage them satisfactorily as aided institutions, all that the Government will insist upon being that

* The italics are ours.

due provision is made for efficient management and extended usefulness.......Care must be taken that no unnecessary obstacles are thrown in the way of the upward progress of really deserving students of the poorer classes.

And again and again it is reiterated that the Government desires above all things, to avoid even the appearance of wishing to confine the studies of the Indian youth to prescribed lists of text-books.

We can imagine the pleasure and enthusiasm with which Ananda Mohan Bose would serve on a body with whose fundamental principles he must needs have been in such hearty accord as this. The spread of elementary education he himself, in 1879, had already, it will be remembered, declared to be the first need of the time. Seven out of the twenty-one members of the Commission were Indians, and how well the country was represented in their persons is seen in those admirable *resumes* of indigenous education in the various provinces which make the Report issued in 1883 an historical document of the highest value, and in the uniform tone of respect with which Indian educational achievements, past, present and future, are mentioned throughout. It was only in 1898-9, when resolutions were passed in direct defiance of the Governmental policy of 1882, as here declared, that Mr. Bose indignantly ended his connection with the University Text-Books Committee. After labouring hard and continuously for over a year, the Commission, through its president Mr., afterwards Sir William, Hunter submitted a report on Indian Education in all its branches, which stands to

this day as the most interesting and comprehensive document on the subject.

In connection with the Calcutta University, Mr. Bose's most sustained effort was directed to securing such an amendment of the Act of Incorporation as to extend its scope, and convert it form a mere examining body into a teaching University, a reform which was taken up and executed, fifteen years later, along with others whose good effects are not easy to foresee. Mr. Bose made repeated and strenuous efforts to introduce this reform into the University of Calcutta, but his endeavours were always frustrated by official opposition. At a meeting of the Senate held on the 26th April 1890, he succeeded in carrying the following resolution: "That a committee be appointed to examine the Act of Incorporation of the University (Act II of 1857) with a view to suggest to the Senate what amendments, if any, are necessary in the Act in order to meet the present requirements of the University." Mr. Bose supported the resolution with an exhaustive and convincing speech. He conclusively proved from the circumstances under which the University was founded, and the subsequent changes in the country during the interevening period, that the time had come for a revision of the original Act of Incorporation. From the minutes of the University, Mr. Bose gave many instances, in which admittedly desireable measures could not be adopted owing to the fact that the Calcutta University was only an examining body,

and according to the original Charter could not take up any other function. His speech left no room for doubt as to the necessity for a revision of the Act of Incorporation.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Gilliland and after a prolonged discussion, in which Mr. Tawney and Sir Alfred Croft opposed and Dr. Lal Madhob Mukherjee, Rev. K. S. MacDonald, Dr. Warden, and Mr. Justice Norris supported it the resolution was carried by 24 votes against 4, and a committee was appointed. But when officials like Sir Alfred Croft and Mr. Tawney were opposed to it there could be no hope of pushing the Resolution to a logical issue. The Committee, however, in due time presented its report, which probably found a permanent resting place on the shelves of Sir Alfred Croft, then Director of Public Instruction for Bengal.

Mr. Bose's educational activities, however, were not exhausted in merely criticising the existing system in the Senate. He had an ideal of sound education and with a view to carry it out, he established an institution on his own responsibility. It was started in 1879 as a High School. The prospectus was issued over the signatures of Mr. Bose, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea and Pandit S. N. Sastri. Mr. Bose advanced the necessary funds, Pandit Sastri became the Secretary and Mr. Banerjea was appointed one of the teachers. The school became a great success. It was soon raised to the standard of a second-grade college, under the name of

the City College, and subsequently to that of a first-grade college with a law department.

The City College became one of the largest and most efficient institutions ever affiliated to the University of Calcutta. For many years, it was specially distinguished for its teaching of physical science, and was always characterised by a fine moral tone. Mr. Bose's services to it were incessant and unsparing. He borrowed the money for the building, on his own responsibility. He became the Life President of its Council ; and in spite of his own arduous and multifarious labours, he was actively interested in every detail of its conduct and management. Through good report and evil report he was true to his ideal. The institution started in the interests of sound education, and his own aim had been to make it a permanent and efficient instrument for the diffusiou of knowledge. It was his earnest desire to make it the nucleus and centre of a vigorous educational mission, with a band of devoted and self-sacrificing workers like the professors of the Fergusson College of Poona, educated and patriotic young men who would work for the promotion of education on a mere subsistence allowance. He established a branch institution of the City College at Mymensingh, and hoped that other branch institutions might be opened. With a view to organising such an educational mission, a brotherhood of teachers was formed, into whose hands he proposed to make over the City College with all its branches But the scheme did

not succeed, and Mr. Bose, therefore, in view of his failing health, was compelled to make over the City College and its branches, with a property worth over a lakh of rupees, to the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj.

The cause of popular education was very close to his heart. He never allowed any opportunity of furthering it to pass, without doing all that he could do. When the Government of India, in 1896, proposed its scheme for the reorganisation of the educational service, Mr. Bose protested most strongly against it, as he believed it to be detrimental to the cause of true education. He was selected to move a resolution at the twelfth session of the Indian National Congress condemning that scheme, and, with but a few hours' notice, he not only made one of the best speeches of the year but one of the most powerful and effective criticisms ever offered against the Government policy.

Mr. Bose was quite as much, if not more, interested in the education of women. The progress of the higher education of women in Bengal may be traced in great measure to his work and influence. The question of educating girls had been under discussion ever since the time when the School Society was founded in 1817, for the diffusion of English Education in Bengal. As might easily be imagined, there were differences of opinion on this subject among the members of the Society; but Sir Radhakanta Deb, the Secretary, was in favour of educating girls, and at his instance they were admitted in some of the schools founded by the Society.

After a few years, however, it was thought undesirable that girls should go to the same school with boys, and attempts were made to establish separate schools for them. Christian Missionaries offered their co-operation and girls' schools were established at several places in Calcutta. But these institutions were worked in the interest of Christian propagandism, and respectable people were loath to send their daughters to these schools. With a view to remove this difficulty, the Hon. Drinkwater Bethune, Law Member of the Governor-General's Council, founded a girls' school for purely secular education, and several leading men of Calcutta sent their girls there; but even this did not make much progress, and the education imparted was of a very elementary character. In connection with the Indian Reform Association organised by Keshub Chandra Sen, a school for the education of ladies was opened in 1871: but here also the course of instruction was not very high. Many Brahmo fathers were anxious to give a more liberal education to their girls. The visit of the late Miss Mary Carpenter to India in 1875 gave an opportune impetus to this desire for the higher education of women; and in the same year Mr. Bose, with the help of his friends, Messrs. Durga Mohan Das and Dwarkanath Ganguli, founded the Banga Mahila Vidyalaya, the first institution in India for the higher education of women. Messrs. Bose and Das had to share between themselves the greater portion of its expenditure. The institution grew

rapidly in popularity. It was here that the majority of the first generation of educated Bengali women received instruction.

Lady Lytton once paid a visit to the school and was very much pleased with its working. As the Bethune School, in spite of the lavish expenditure on its account, was in a moribund condition, the Government, in 1878, proposed its amalgamation with the Banga Mahila Vidyalaya. Mr. Bose in consultation with the committee of the Banga Mahila Vidyalaya accepted the proposal, on the distinct condition that a certain proportion of the members of the managing committee should always be taken from the Brahmo Samaj. He himself was appointed one of this committee, and to the last day of his life took a keen and active interest in its work and welfare. It was the uncommon success of one of the Banga Mahila Vidyalaya students—Miss Kadambini Bose * by name—in the University Entrance Examination of 1879, that led to the raising of the school to the rank of a College. He was also one of the organisers of the Brahmo Girls' School in Calcutta which was in many ways indebted to him.

* Having passed the F. A. examination of the Calcutta University from the Bethune College, this lady joined the Medical College in 1883, graduated in Medicine and Surgery in 1888, and is now, as Mrs. Ganguli, a successful medical practitioner in Calcutta.

CHAPTER IX.

Religious Work

Though Mr. Bose's was a many-sided character and his activities embraced every department of the national life, its centre of gravity undoubtedly lay in religion, and it was religious work which had the greatest fascination for him. Religion had taken a strong hold on him early in life. We have seen that he came under the influence of the Brahmo Samaj while he was yet a boy. The opening of his active career synchronised with an important epoch in the history of that movement. He joined it, and was regarded as a valuable acquisition by that body, while it was yet unclouded by any dissensions. After the secession of Keshub Chandra Sen from the Adi Brahmo Samaj, Mr. Bose became an important member of the newly-organised Bramo Samaj of India, and constantly attended its meetings. But his most important religious activities were associated with the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, of which he was one of the founders and principal organisers. He took a prominent part in the agitation in connection with the Brahmo Marriage Bill. Up to the time of his departure for England, the Brahmo Samaj of India had maintained a career of unclouded progress. But while still in England he was pained to hear of sad dissensions within his beloved church. The first differences of opinion arose on the question of the position

of women. We have already seen with what anxious solicitude he had watched the progress of this lamentable conflict among the members of the Calcutta Congregation of the Brahmo Samaj of India. On the 18th October, 1873, being in England, he wrote : "I feel very sorry to think that in the midst of so much that is hopeful in the position of our church, there should be at the present moment any cause of uneasiness in the division and discord which exist in it, owing primarily to differences of opinion on the question of female liberty, sadly aggravated by the spirit of intolerance. I cannot tell you with what sorrow I saw charges of irreligiousness and of being renegade Brahmos levelled against a party containing some of the most pious and noble-hearted men I have ever known—a party for whose impatience at cruel wrongs, and active and earnest sympathy for the weak, I cannot but feel the greatest admiration in spite of any errors into which their zeal may have led them. And of course such unjust taunts tend to produce corresponding bitterness. But when I look at how much nobleness there is on both sides, I cannot but hope and believe that these differences and bitterness will pass away and give place to harmony of spirit and feeling, if not exact agreement in opinion."

By the time Mr. Bose returned to India a regular party of progress had been developed within the Brahmo Samaj of India, which was only a natural sequel of the movement inaugurated by Keshub

Chandra Sen himself. Keshub Chandra Sen had seceded from Debendra Nath Tagore in the name of progress and constitutions, and these were also the watchwords of the new party. He and his comrades including most of the men of the new party, had organised the Brahmo Samaj of India because the Calcutta Brahmo Samaj had not been progressive enough, and there had been no constitution to guide the conduct of business, everything being done according to the will of the head of the Samaj, Maharshi Debendranath Tagore. Exactly the same complaints were now made against Keshub Chandra Sen himself. A progressive section had sprung up whose ideas on several matters collided with those of their leader and still more with those of some of his more intimate followers. The first important point in dispute had been this, of the position and education of women. We have seen Mr. Bose deploring the charge of impiety levelled against the progressives on account of their advanced views. There were differences of opinion, and divergent tendencies on other questions also, in spite of which united work would still have been possible, if there had been a settled and well-defined constitution. It was such a constitution that some of the members persistently demanded. The first important task of the Brahmo Samaj of India ought surely to have been the organisation of its own work on a constitutional basis, seeing that it had been the want of a constitution which had led to the division

between Devendra Nath Tagore and Keshub Chandra Sen. But after it had been established as an independent body, the qnestion of the constitution had been neglected. There were now two distinct organisations, the Brahmo Samaj of India and the Calcutta Congregation, but there was not even, as was subsequently discovered a regular list of the members of either; Keshub Chandra Sen was the Secretary, and Mr. Pratap Chandra Mozoomdar Assistant Secretary of the former body, and the same two gentlemen were Minister and Secretary respectively of the latter. Apparently there were no committees, and even if there were, they seldom met. All authority was pretty well divided between these two gentlemen. Even the Mandir of the Brahmo Samaj of India, which had been built by public subscription, and was deeded in the name of Keshub Chandra Sen, had not been conveyed to a body of trustees. So long as there were no differences of opinion things went smoothly enough, but as soon as differences sprang up these defects in the organisation became apparent. When the views of the majority were roughly, even contemptuously, ignored, they naturally sought for redress, and then they found that they had no constitutional safe-guard against such high-handed proceedings. Hence arose the persistent demand for a constitution.

It was at this stage in the history of the Brahmo Samaj of India that Mr. Bose returned from England. His sympathies were of course with the constitutiona-

lists, who found in him a powerful advocate of their views. The following significant passage in Miss Collet's Brahmo Year-Book for 1877 gives us a glimpse into the state of things then existing: "In 1875 fresh attempts were made towards the establishment of a definite representative organization. But they met with so little response that the matter dropped again, till last January (1877), when it was again taken up at the yearly conference and referred to a provisional committee. In due course the latter presented their report and called a public meeting for the 19th of May, at which meeting it was resolved by a majority "that a representative society be established in the interests of the general Brahmo public, Mr. Sen and Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose being respectively appointed Chairman and Secretary for the ensuing year." The question of appointing trustees for the Brahmo Mandir was pressed on in 1875, but it was evaded on the ground that there was yet an outstanding debt. Next year the question was again brought forward, and the same plea being again revived, a few of the members offered to take the responsibility of the debt. Still nothing was done towards appointing trustees for the Mandir. So, at a representative meeting in 1877, a committee was appointed to raise funds for paying off the debt and to get the Mandir property conveyed to a body of trustees. In this way the constitutionalists, of whom Mr. Bose was by this time the *de facto* leader, were patiently and persistently

fighting their battle; and possibly in the long run they might have succeeded in placing the Brahmo Samaj of India on a constitutional basis, if an unexpected event, of momentous consequence, had not occurred, to convulse the whole organisation of the Brahmo Samaj. This was the marriage of the eldest daughter of Keshub Chandra Sen with the minor Maharaja of Cooch Behar.

On the 9th of February, 1878 the *Indian Mirror*, which was then the organ of Mr. Sen's party, was "glad to be able to announce that a marriage had been arranged between the young Maharaja of Cooch Behar and the eldest daughter of Babu Keshub Chandra Sen." This announcement caused a most painful sensation in the Brahmo community. The situation will be best understood from the following brief account of the development of events, recorded in the Brahmo Year-Book for 1878, by Miss Collet, who took great pains to get at a true account of the facts. She writes:—

"Some months before, in August 1877, a rumour had arisen of the impending match, and Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose, a young barrister of high standing and a long attached friend of Mr. Sen's called upon him to inquire about it, and pointed out the dangerous consequences which might result from such a marriage, and the serious injury which might thereby accrue to the Brahmo Samaj. But Mr. Sen told him that nothing had then been settled as to the affair. Some weeks later, in October 1877, the marriage proposal

was broken off, the Lieutenant-Governor having forbidden the Maharaja (who was a ward of the British Government) to marry at so early an age. But subsequently, towards the end of January, 1878, the rumour of the marriage was again heard, and three of the Calcutta Brahmos, who felt strongly on the matter, visited Mr. Sen on Saturday, February 2nd, requesting more definite information on the subject. Mr. Sen replied that he could not tell them anything definite about the matter ; but that negotiations were pending regarding it, and he would be able to report the result after ten days." We have already seen that the *Indian Mirror* made the authoritative announcement just a week later. But even before the announcement in the *Mirror*, the congregation had become aware, from other sources, that the match was pretty well settled, and they were anxiously deliberating about the duty of the Brahmo Samaj at this critical juncture. They looked upon the intended marraige as a death-blow to the cause of their church, because the bridegroom was 16 and the bride 13, both thus being below the minimum marriage age which had been fixed by Mr. Sen himself ; and if now he himself violated that limit, people would not unjustly say that the leader and minister of the Brahmo Samaj had succumbed to the temptation of an alliance with a Maharaja. As a result of such a marriage, it was generally feared, the cause of reform would be irretrievably ruined, and the whole Brahmo Samaj discredited. It was thus that the leading Brahmos found

themselves in a situation of painful anxiety. On the one hand they were bound by a sense of deep obligation to their leader, who had done and sacrificed so much for their movement, and on the other, there was a great and urgent principle at stake as well as the credit of the whole body.

In the midst of these anxieties, on the 9th of February, the *Indian Mirror* published an authoritative announcement of the marriage, which, it was privately known, had already been fixed for about the 6th of March. From this point onwards, the Brahmo Samaj as a body was plunged into the fiery ordeal of a public struggle. During the course of this struggle, much was said and done on both sides, which to-day we cannot but deeply regret. But so far as Mr. Bose was concerned, it may be said that he acted throughout under a high and constraining sense of the principles involved. At first neither he, nor those associated with him, had any idea of organising a separate church. Their sole object was to dissociate the Brahmo Samaj from a specific act on the part of its leader, not allowing it, as a corporate body, to suffer for the deed of an individual. A letter had already been drafted by Pandit Siva Nath Sastri, in which the attention of their minister was respectfully drawn, by the protesting section,—protestants, as from this time they began to be called—to the manifold difficulties and self-contradictions in which the contemplated marriage would involve their whole church. This letter had not been sent when first

written, owing to the fact that some minds, perhaps unwisely logical, had raised the question whether any one ought to sign it who was not prepared to sever his connection with the supporters of the marriage, should it go unheeded. Mr. A. M. Bose and Pandit Siva Nath Sastri felt themselves unable to look so far ahead. It was theirs, they thought, to act as conscience dictated; but the issue was not, at this early juncture, to be anticipated. On the appearance of the authoritative announcement of the marriage, however, all points of dispute were waived, and the letter was sent, with twenty-three signatures appended, amongst them A. M. Bose's name standing third.

This protest was couched in moderate and respectful terms, as will be seen from the opening paragraph which ran as follows:—

"Respected Sir,

The news that a marriage has been arranged and is soon to take place between your eldest daughter and the Maharaja of Cooch Behar has filled us with deep sorrow. In ordinary cases the marriage of their children is a matter for the consideration of parents; and it would be unbecoming and an intrusion into what does not concern them for others to say anything on the subject. But you are well aware that the well-being, or the contrary, of our whole church depends, to no inconsiderable extent, upon your individual actions. It seems to us, therefore, that we should be failing in our duty if we remained silent on

this critical occasion. It is with exceedingly sad and sorrowful hearts that we beg to communicate to you some of our thoughts on the subject, and we earnestly hope that you will take them into your serious consideration before you take any steps in the matter. To us the marriage is objectionable on many grounds."

After enumerating these grounds, the letter concluded:—

"*Finally*, we repeat, and repeat it again and again, simply because we have been deeply pained by the news of this intended marriage, that we regard early marriage as a hateful custom, and we look upon it as a sin for parents to be concerned in such marriages. We have stated also the other objections we entertain against this marriage. In conclusion, we entreat you not to proceed with this match, and thereby avert from our Church great further injury."

Mr. Bose's name, as already stated, was third in the list of signatories, following those of Messrs. Shib Chandra Deb and Durga Mohan Das. But besides this, he also wrote personally to his friend and minister the following appeal: "I feel impelled to write a few lines to tell you how pained I have been feeling at heart these last few days, at the sad prospect around us. To-day, when the wedding of your eldest child is so nigh at hand, ought to have been a day of rejoicing to our whole community, and to those in particular who have had the privilege for years of enjoying your personal intimacy and endearing friendship. And yet

there seem to be clouds in the horizon, sadness in the air. My heart feels weighed down when I think of all the disquieting things around us, and my only hope and fervent prayer is, that our Father in Heaven will order all things for the best ; that He will in His good time cause all these clouds to be dispersed, and carry us through this fiery ordeal in charity and peace, in purity and strength. When such are my feelings, I can easily imagine what must be yours, when in the midst of the festivities suited to the occasion, there must necessarily occur to your mind thoughts of a jarring and widely dissimilar kind. Though constrained to look at the marriage from a point of view very different from yours, and constrained also to think that so far as the light within me enables me to judge, you are departing from the lines laid down by yourself to the injury of many weaker brethren, I hope you will permit me to convey to you my sincere sympathy with you in the present trial, and an assurance of my personal regard. There is no doubt collision of principles and views involved in this marriage, and honest difference of opinion, though a difference of great importance ; and there can be no harm, but only good, in this being honourably fought out, if so it need be, between those who hold conflicting views. Such an opposition is, as was remarked in the last *Sunday Mirror*, an honour to the person opposed, and it is also a welcome evidence of the fact that there is life and vitality in the church. Truth will be brought out and established all the more

clearly in the end. But I trust the character of this fight, viz., that it is the assertion of a principle, will not be mistaken or forgotten, and that it will, under the guidance of a loving Father, lead to no change of our individual feelings. Many hard things, I find, are being said, and mistaken interpretations being put; and I know how difficult it may be at times to keep this lofty ideal in view. But I earnestly pray to God to grant us all strength to enable us to seek and follow the right, without losing our brotherly charity or kindly feelings.

"May I make one request to you? I think you owe it no less to yourself, than to the general Brahmo public, that you should fully and frankly explain your position and views with reference to this marraige—your reasons for proceeding with an alliance regarding which so many difficulties have been felt, honestly and strongly felt, by a large section of our community, and which appears to be a clear and unmistakable departure, in at least one most important feature, from the principles hitherto recognised by the Progressive Church. I would ask you, therefore, for such a statement, or if it should be preferred, for the publication of such a statement. If I am right in the view that I take on this point, I think there ought to be no delay whatsoever in the publication or communication of such a statement; for every single day's delay is likely, in the present state of things, to be injurious."

Several other protests and representations were sent, in addition to these two but little or no reply was

made to any of them. In despair, a public meeting of the Brahmos was resolved on, and Mr. Bose was elected to fill the chair.

From this point, he became one of the most prominent of the leaders of the opposition. He took the chair at successive meetings of protest, and became the first President of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj when it was organised. Never for one moment, however, did he forget the twofold claims of public duty and personal friendship. To him the struggle was an honest and honourable fight on a question of principle, but in the midst of the heat and passion of conflict he always remembered 'brotherly charity.' He was only thirty-one years of age at the time, and it is difficult to say whether he derived greater honour from having been put forward as the leader of the protesting party, or from the gentleness and freedom from rancour, which he evoked from those whom he had to oppose.

Matters did not go smoothly, in connection with the public meeting which had been resolved upon, and it had finally to be held in the Town Hall, on February 26th, Mr. Bose presiding. The Chairman said "his thoughts that day were painful. He looked upon the prospective marriage as a downward plunge, instead of a step upward; one that would lower the estimation in which the Brahmo Samaj was held, and darken noble hopes. This was a solemn crisis in their history. The meeting had not been convened to discuss the abstract question of early marriage; their intention was simply to show

that they regretted the step Babu Keshub Chandra Sen was about to take, and did not wish to be identified with it. After stating the nature of their objections, and recapitulating the history of the church, in relation to the whole question of the marriageable age, which had been laid down with unusual definitiveness, he went on to say that he believed, that when passion should cool down, and sober reason take its place, they and all their friends would realise that this had been no baseless agitation, but a genuine fight for principle. He saw in the faces of those around him the augury of a bright future before them, and strength and union instead of weakness and dissension in their church. He believed that there was vitality in the Brahmo Samaj sufficient to keep it alive, and that it would live and live on God alone."

The following resolution was adopted unanimously by the assembly: "That this meeting views with feelings of deep sorrow and condemnation the approaching marriage of the daughter of Babu Keshub Chandra Sen, Secretary, Brahmo Samaj of India, with the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, as being inconsistent with the principles hitherto recognised and advocated by the Brahmo Samaj of India, as likely to exercise an injurious and demoralising influence on the Brahmo community, and as calculated to lower the character of the Bramo Samaj of India as a reforming and progressive organisation: and without in any way impugning his personal character, feels at the same time constrained to declare

that the Secretary of the Brahmo Samaj of India, by countenancing this marriage, and by the utter disregard he has shown of the strong expression of Brahmo public opinion on the subject, has forfeited his claims to the confidence of Brahmo community." It was also resolved to form a commitee, called the Brahmo Samaj Commitee, to take such measures as might be considered necessary to conserve the interests of the Samaj and to organise it on a constitutional basis. Mr. Bose was elected one of the members of this committee.

In spite of resolutions and protests, however, the marriage project continued to go forward. The minister of the Brahmo Samaj proceeded to Cooch Behar with the bridal party on the 3rd of March, and the wedding was performed on the 6th, in a form which made enthusiastic members of the congregation feel that the cause of Brahmoism had been still further humiliated, in the surrender demanded of its leader.

The question now became inevitable whether Keshub Chandra Sen should be retained as Secretary of the Brahmo Samaj of India and Minister of the Calcutta Congregation. To settle this question it was thought desirable to call special meetings of those bodies. Accordingly two letters of requisition, signed by many members of the Brahmo Samaj of India, were sent to the proper quarters, one urging the necessity of calling a special meeting of the congregation of the Brahmo Mandir and the other of the Brahmo Samaj of India as a whole. Both the prayers were rejected, and the

letters themselves were returned. But immediately afterwards Messrs. Keshub Chandra Sen and Pratap Chandra Mozoomdar called two meetings in their own names. As a result of the first of these meetings, the breach between the two parties culminated. The protesters passed a resolution to the effect that Keshub Chadra Sen could not be continued in the office of minister, and appointed new ministers. As Mr. Sen's followers refused to accept these resolutions, the protesters were henceforth compelled to meet for divine service in private houses, and began to take steps for securing a permanent place of worship. The schism was now complete and the two parties were practically separated.

During a part of this critical time Mr. Bose was away from Calcutta on professional work. Though absent, he kept himself in close touch with the development of events, and helped his friends with his counsel and guidance. *The Sunday Mirror*, orginally the organ of the Brahmo Samaj of India, now represented the views of Mr. Sen aud his party alone. The protesters were therefore obliged to start, as their own organs, two papers, one in English and the other in Bengali. Both of these were largely financed by Mr. Bose. A meeting of the Brahmo Samaj of India, which had been announced for the 23rd of March, was cancelled by advertisement in the *Indian Mirror*. Thereupon Mr. Shib Chandra Deb and twenty-nine other members again wrote to Mr. Sen requesting him to call a special meeting of the Brahmo Samaj of India. As

their request was not acceded to, they themselves called a public meeting in the Town Hall of Calcutta to re-organise the Brahmo Samaj on a reformed and constitutional basis. This meeting was held on the 15th May, 1878. Mr. A. M. Bose was elected to preside over it. It is a great pity that Mr. Bose's speech on this important occasion has not been preserved. In opening the proceedings he observed that the Brahmo Samaj Committee had made every constitutional effort to put an end to the present deplorable state of affairs in the Samaj, by reference to a general meeting of the Brahmo Samaj of India. But their efforts had failed. Twenty-six letters had been received by the Brahmo Samaj Committee, from as many Samajes, twenty-three of which were in favour of removing Mr. Keshub Chandra Sen from his office as Secretary ; and three only in favour of retaining his services. But this overwhelming expression of opinion, and the successive requisitions for convening an early meeting of the Brahmo Samaj of India, signed by a large number of members and addressed to the Secretary and Assistant Secretary, Mr. Protap Chandra Mozoomdar, had all been of no avail. The Brahmo Samaj Committee, therefore, felt themselves compelled to adopt a resolution to form a separate organisation on a constitutional basis. Though this resolution had been communicated to the mofussil branches only as lately as the 5th of May, yet, within the short intervening space of less than nine days, twenty-one communications had

been received from as many Samajes,—all in favour of the step they were going to take that evening. In this small interval of time, moreover, an important declaration, condemning the conduct of the Secretary and the Assistant Secretary of the Brahmo Samaj of India, and pronouncing in favour of organising a separate Samaj on a constitutional basis, had been received by the Secretary. It was signed by four hundred and twenty-five Brahmo men and women. The Chairman also read a letter from the venerable Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore expressing his warm sympathy with the object of that day's meeting, in the following words : "I approve with all my heart the noble object of your meeting. Should my life last long enough to enable me to see the realisation of the noble ends you have in view, then shall I indeed die happy. Keeping God and truth as your steadfast aim, you will, I have no doubt, succeed in accomplishing your object. I pray to God that He may grant success to your noble undertaking, and spread peace and happiness over the face of India."

At this meeting, the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj was formally established, and henceforth Mr. Bose and his colleagues devoted their energies to its organisation. Their first work was to draw up a constitution. A small sub-committee was appointed to draft the rules. This committee met night after night in the rooms of Mr. Bose, and worked indefatigably, often till the small hours of the morning. When some of the members

would grow tired and want to go home, their host would not allow them to leave until the night's business was over. It was a most trying time, and through what anxieties, troubles and labours Mr. Bose had to pass at this memorable epoch, will never be known. Everything had to be created anew. Yet it is wonderful to think within what a short time the new Samaj was organised. One by one its congregation, its young men's meeting, its women's association, and Sunday school for children were all developed. Mr. Bose worked with each. He was elected the first President of the new Samaj and was the general centre of every activity. Henceforward he laboured incessantly for the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and its institutions. There was scarcely any important function in connection with it, at which he was not prominent. Indeed his was such an indispensable and towering personality in the new Church that when he passed away, there was no one to take his place or fill up the gap. In the obituary notice contributed by Pandit S. N. Sastri to the *Indian Messenger*, the organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, he thus referred to the void caused by A. M. Bose's death: "When Theodore Parker died, one of his friends is said to have remarked, 'Now that Parker is gone, this material world of ours weighs less than it did before.' Alas! almost the same thing can be said with regard to the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, of which Mr. Bose was one of the founders and the first President. Now that Ananda Mohan is gone, the

Sadharan Brahmo Samaj weighs less than it did before."

Perhaps it would not be correct to say that the largest share of the burden at this crisis fell upon Ananda Mohon. But he was unquestionably the leader of the band: To him they all looked for counsel and guidance at every emergency, as well as ordinarily from day to day and hour to hour. He had been the President of that memorable Town Hall meeting at whieh the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj was inaugurated. He was elected its first President when it was organised. The part which Ananda mohon played in that momentous struggle in 1878 was absolutely noble, honourable and unexceptionable. It would have been glorious for any man, however, great and exalted. For a young man of thirty it was simply marvellous. And from that time on, he was always the guiding spirit of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. To the outside world he represented all that was best and noblest in that body. Within the household of faith he was regarded as the embodiment of wisdom and piety, of lofty thought and saintly character, profound devotion, and breathless activity.

After drawing up the constituion, one of the first concerns of the organisers of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj was to secure for it a local habitation. Though the bulk of the members of the Brahmo Samaj of India had joined the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj,—which indeed was now the real Brahmo Samaj of India in its proper constitutional form,—they could not obtain

possession of the Brahmo Mandir without taking recourse to a lawsuit, from which they rightly shrank. Trusting in the providence of God and confident of the justice of their cause, they resolved to erect a new building; and in this matter also Mr. Bose rendered yeoman service. Not only did he contribute liberally to the building fund, but at his own cost he bought a much larger piece of land than was actually wanted for the proposed Mandir, only because the owners of the selected plot would not part with less.

We need not follow his doings further, in connection with the several institutions of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. We shall mention only one which was specially dear to him. This was the Students' Weekly Service, which, in co-operation with Pandit Siva Nath Sastri, he established for the benefit of young men in 1879. It was of the nature of the old Stndents' Association, by this time defunct, but with a larger moral and religious element. Mr. Bose spoke frequently in connection with this and to the last day of his life took a living and abiding interest in it.

At the annual meeting of 1878, he was re-elected President of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj for another twelve months. At the close of the second year, when the Samaj had been fairly well established, he relinquished this post, in favour of Mr. Shib Chandra Deb, the venerable secretary, who held the office for several successive years. On his death Mr. Bose was again called to the office of President. Though he

was anxious that others should be offered that place of undoubted responsibility and honour, yet at every critical time he found himself called back to it. He was elected President of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj for thirteen years in all; and even when he was not formally in the office he was the *de facto* President. It is a pity that his inspiring presidential addresses have not been reported and preserved.

Mr. Bose also rendered invaluable service at the committee meetings of the Samaj. But his presence was missed most from the weekly divine services. So long as he was in good health he was most regular in his attendance at the congregational service. It was an inspiration only to see him in the act of worship, when his face beamed with divine light and his whole body, wrapped in reverence, quivered with emotion. Ananda mohan was above all things a sincere and devout worshipper and nothing brought him greater happiness than prayer.

CHAPTER X.

Work In England

Twenty years of life had rolled away, in all sorts of religious and patriotic work. The young man who had come back from England full of hope and aspiration, as well as strength and vigour, was now past middle age. The strenuous labours of twenty years had told heavily on his robust constitution. Throughout this period he had worked without break or remission. In the beginning of 1893 he received an invitation from the Council of the parliament of Religions, held in connection with the Chicago Exhibition, to attend its meetings ; but he felt that he could not tear himseif away from his field of work for the necessary length of time, and so regretfully declined the invitation, though he accepted the offer of a seat in the Advisory Council of the Parliament. But the next year his health broke down completely. He had been troubled for some time past by rheumatism. So long as he could, he disregarded it : but nature soon asserted her rights. In the beginning of 1894 he was completely laid up with gout and rheumatism and the best medical aid could give him but litle relief. On the urgent advice of his physicians, he left for Europe on the 4th of April 1894 to try some of the German waters. On the eve of his departure, the members of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj presented him with the following touching farewell address :—

" You are going to sojourn in Europe for a few months for recovering your health. Never since the birth of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj have you left us for so long a period. We have always been encouraged in doing duties by your good counsel, your unwearied zeal, and your sincere devotion to our cause. Nay, the Sadharan Brabmo Samaj is, under Providence, indebted to a very great extent for what success it has chieved, to your devotion to its cause and your sound judgment. Naturally, therefore, it is saddening to us to part with you for so long a period. But at the time we are cheered by the hope that, with your health returned and your mind refreshed by a change of scene, you will be able to serve the Brahmo Samaj with zeal for many a year to come; and revisiting Europe after a long interval, where you will come in contact with great thinkers and great workers, you will be able to store your mind with high thoughts and sentiments and also sound practical ideas as to methods of work, and by these the Brahmo Samaj will in future be benefitted more than ever. The harmonious development of manhood in its many aspects, which we have been so long observing in your life, will attain a yet fuller stage, and you will be better able to serve the Brahmo Samaj. That amiability of your character, that unfeigned modesty, that breadth and liberality of heart, and that unostentatious piety, which have long charmed and attracted us, will, no doubt, attract and win the hearts of those among whom you will

have to dwell in strange lands, and through you many a heart will be led to love Brahmoism and the Brahmo Samaj.

"Cherishing these hopes in our hearts, we, your brethren and sisters in God assembled here, bid you farewell, offering our heart's love and esteem. May God bring you back to us with health restored and with renewed zeal and hope! May your life be spared for many a year to come to live and serve God in our midst in the enjoyment of health and that peace which passeth understanding, is the earnest prayer of your brethren and sisters in God."

The first few months of his tour he spent in England and on the continent of Europe, "on hill and by lake, amid the solitude of woods and the bustle of busy towns, in the midst of scenes of sublimity and grandeur." He utilised the time mainly in recouping his health and refreshing his mind; yet with his insatiable hunger for work and activity he could not remain quite idle. He attended and addressed several meetings in London, and other places in England, mainly in connection with the Unitarian Association. After an absence of eight months he returned to Calcutta on the 13th of December, considerably improved in health. The usual routine of activity followed again till 1897, when he again left India on his third and last visit to England.

The immediate and ostensible object of this visit was to make arrangements personally for the education

of his two eldest sons in England. But the reactionary policy of the Government of the time was causing him much pain and anxiety, and he must have had it in view to try if he could to set matters right by bringing them to the notice of the British public. He left Calcutta on the 15th September 1897, accompanied by his two sons. Having got them admitted into their respective colleges, he turned his attention to the other object of his visit. There followed a campaign on behalf of India throughout the length and breadth of England, which remains unparallelled to this day in the history of Indian political agitation. Here again his was the first attempt at a systematic and sustained agitation to arouse the attention of the British constituencies in favour of India; and his success was phenomenal. His powerful advocacy created an unprecedented stir, and roused considerable interest in Indian affairs among the ordinarily apathetic British electors. For the next six months he carried on a marvellous campaign of political agitation in the constituencies of England, such as alone would have entitled him to the enduring admiration and gratitude of his countrymen. The mere physical fortitude which he displayed during these six months was amazing. It was a period of ceaseless exertion. At times he had to speak daily for whole weeks before vast audiences. Some idea of the strain he passed through at this period might be gathered from the following casual list of engagements. Here

is a telegram reminding him of the engagements of one week :

"Monday, West Hartlepool ; Tuesdey, Darlington ; Wednesday, Seaham Harbour ; Friday, Stockton. We want you specially. The first two are announced. Come." "Here is another week of engagements as reported in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* ; "In eight days from the 28th of March to the 4th of April, Babu Ananda Mohan Bose had to address seven meetings, that is, every evening except one. They are, 28th March at Great Hardwood ; 29th and 30th in Liverpool, the 31st at Cambridge ; 3rd and 4th April in London." Again ; "The Easter holidays were not holidays to Babu Ananda Mohan ; for here is a list of the meetings he had to address during that period : 12th April, Plymouth ; 15th, Manchester ; 16th, Liverpool ; 17th, Liverpool ; 18th, Oldham ; 19th, Manchester and 21st Hardenham !

Mr. Bose, who was habitually reticent about his own work, wrote thus in a private letter to a friend : "My work is growing and I do not know what I shall do. I need hardly say it is costing me much to stay here, and also to meet my travelling and other expenses, for the meetings themselves are a *heavy* item : they are, however, I am glad to say, in every case, being borne by those who invite me. During the eight days from the 16th to the 23rd, I have addressed five public meetings, at Cambridge, in Wiltshire, in Wisbech, and in London, in rather bitterly cold weather, and in one case in a snowfall. I am afraid I am overtaxing my strength and am imperilling my health ; but when I call to mind all the troubles you are in the midst of, in India, and all the deepening gloom resting on our dear country, I cannot find the heart to refuse invitations so pressingly and with such kindness addressed to me from many quarters."

The campaign fittingly began at Cambridge, his *Alma Mater*. There, on the 9th November, not yet a month after his arrival in England, Mr. Bose made a great speech in the Cambridge University Union Society's debate. The London correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* sent the following account of the debate to that paper: "The most interesting debate of the present term took place in the presence of the members of the Cambridge Union Society on Tuesday evening, the 9th instant, when Mr. Baptista, in a crowded house, moved the resolution: That the present policy of coercion in India is unwarranted and unwise.' Mr. Baptista, in an able and humorous speech of 35 minutes' duration, strongly attacked the policy which the Government have pursued of late in India. He was followed by Mr. Bose, who supported the motion. This was the speech of the debate, and was listened to with rapt attention. It is needless to say that his powerful speech went to the heart of all, and made many proselytes to the Indian cause. The tone of the house, hitherto hostile, was completely changed. Mr. Bose began by quoting a few sentences from an Anglo-Indian paper, in which there was a reference to 'the little comedy of the Natus and a warning to some Bengali editors of a similar fate.' Was it a comedy, Mr. Bose asked, to be wrenched from one's family, to be deprived of one's liberty, without even knowing the offence with which he was charged? Have these men no home to dwell in, no one to love, no heart to feel for

them, no human fondness for personal freedom, that they should be thus summarily dragged away? One would have looked upon such acts, if indeed justified and required by circumstances of the case, as a painful necessity, as a tragedy to be grieved over". But no, it was a mere comedy; and so on he proceeded. With an appeal for the liberty of the Press, he concluded his powerful and impressive speech* amid loud and enthusiastic cheers, and we may picture him,—his face lit up with zeal and animation, pleading eloquently the cause of his country before the bar of young and manly Englishmen, who would soon be going out to fight the battle of life,—in the hall where five and twenty years ago his voice had often rung. The discussion lasted for a long time, at the end of which the motion was carried by a majority of 32, 87 for and 55 against. The result was received with acclamation. This grand victory was quite unexpected in such a Conservative society as the Union at Cambridge. The late Mr. W. S. Caine wrote: "The interest created by the discussion and division has been so great that Mr. Bose has been waited upon by influential members of the Liberal party in the borough of Cambridge, begging him to speak at a public meeting on the present policy of the India Government." The Cambridge University Union Debating Society met again on the 7th December to discuss a motion brought forward by Earl Lytton, the son of the late Viceroy, expressing approval of the Forward Policy. It was intended to counteract the resolution carried at

the previous debate. The attempt however failed, in spite of a desperate rally of the Tory members of the Union. Earl Lytton's resolution was lost by three votes, 66 for, 69 against. The opposition speakers were coached by Mr. Bose, who did not himself take any part in the debate.

Not satisfied with these temporary triumphs, Mr. Bose was anxious to form some permanent institution for instilling enlightened views in favour of India into the minds of the Cambridge undergraduates. With the help of an influential member of the Committee of the Cambridge Union Society he proceeded to organise an association of the undergraduates for the regular and systematic study of Indian questions. A meeting took place with several earnest students; those present appeared inclined to form a non-party organisation, which might include the discussion of other Indian questions besides the political.

In the meanwhile arrangements were being made for a still larger audience for Mr. Bose. On the 9th December a public meeting was held in the Cambridge Town Hall under the auspices of the Petersfield, Romsey and St. Mathew's Wards Liberal Association. Mr. Bose made a long and impressive speech which was very favourably noticed in the provincial Press. The *Cambridge Independent Press* wrote :—

"Mr. Bose, who spoke with considerable fluency and force, said that the chairman was pleased to look forward to the time when the people of India would

have a voice in the government of that country. It was because at the present time India practically had no voice in questions of the highest importance affecting her destinies, her present and her future, that it become necessary for England and Englishmen to acquaint themselves with the problem of governing that country, and to bring to bear on the administration of the day the decision at which they might arrive as to the soundness or otherwise of the aspirations of the educated Indians,. In this year of rejoicing, on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of the Queen, India had to the best of her power joined in that celebration, but she had joined in her garb of mourning, for pestilence and famine had stalked over the land, carrying death, suffering and misery in their train. For months past they had not been able to open their morning papers without hearing of that cruel, inglorious and desolating war, that had been carried beyond the North-western Frontier of India, a war which was the result of what was known as the Forward Policy." Continuing he said: Then he recounted the history and nature of the Forward Policy. "I venture to think that if information so incorrectly, no doubt unintentionally, used, as the basis of a policy of such importance, had been placed before Parliament on any question affecting the English people, the strongest government would have been rejected, and not, a majority of one hundred and fifty, or three times one hundred and fifty could have saved them. And one

with any regard for the financial well-being of the people of India would have been compelled to give up this policy, however desirable from a military point of view it might have been. Colonel Hanna showed that during the twenty years of this Forward Policy fifty million pounds had been spent in pursuing it. One trembled to think what an amount of good might have been done to the people of India with those fifty million pounds. Irrigation might have been carried out, railways opend, industrial development of the country carried on, and in various other ways the progress of the country might have been secured. It had been my duty often and often to bring before the Indian Government various measures absolutely needed for the well-being of the country, and the Government had fully admitted the importance and necessity of those measures, and had said they were very sorry that they had not the money to carry them out, though they vitally affected the well-being of millions. We are grateful to England for the help rendered to to mitigate the sufferings from the famine, but those doles, however welcome and charitable, would not change the aspect of affairs. There must be a change in the policy of the Government, by which greater avenues of wealth may be created within the country, resulting in social advancement, by which the people shall be placed in position to resist the pressure caused by the occasional failure of the monsoons. Sir A. Colvin had ably pointed out that progress to the

west of the Indus meant the arrest of progress to the east of the Indus."

At the conclusion of the meeting Mr. Bose received quite an ovation, both ladies and gentlemen from the audience crowding round him to shake hands with him and to beg him to hold further meetings. A strong resolution was unanimously carried, condemning the forward movement, and the policy of repression in the internal administration of India recently adopted by the Indian Government, and calling for a liberal and sympathetic policy towards India.

In the last week of December, Mr. Bose addressed a large and enthusiastic public meeting in South London, organised and presided over by the late Mr. W. S. Caine. As usual he charmed the audience with his eloquence, and awakened their hearty sympathy in both Congress and Temperance questions.

On the 24th January he addressed two meetings at Hartlepool and West Hartlepool where he was the guest of Sir Christopher Furness. The speech at West Hartlepool was thus noticed by the *Northern Daily Mail*: "The other great speech of the evening at West Hartlepool was that of Mr. A. M. Bose, an Indian gentleman, who was formerly a member of the Bengal Legislative Council. This undoubted authority severely condemned the frontier war in India. Mr. Bose delivered a singularly eloquent address, the burning patriotism of which was its most conspicuous feature" On the next day he spoke at a public meeting at

Darlington. The continuance of the war on the North-Western Frontier and the repressive measures in the Bombay Presidency had attracted the attention of the British public, and these afforded a convenient text for his address. Everywhere he drove home to the minds of his audience the disastrous un-British character of the strategical blunder of the Forward Policy he said:—

"Why, every advance on the part of the British, everything that tended to make the passage of an army easier, was an advantage, and an incalculable advantage, to Russia. And that road had been made in what way? The taxation of India was of so grinding a character—taxation raised from the pockets of one of the poorest populations of the world—that they had official testimony unanimously given that any further increase of that taxation would mean absolute starvation to the people. After remarking that recently we have been playing the game of Russia, he added that 40 millions of the people of India—more than the population of the whole of the United Kingdom—could only afford one meal a day in normal seasons. If the monsoon failed, they died. India was deeply grateful to the people of England for the help given during the recent famine, but what of all that had been dragged from the people for the prosecution of the mischievous war? This money might very profitably have been spent to open up and quicken the industries of the country."

On the 27th January he addressed an enthusiastic Liberal meeting in the Theatre Royal, Seaham Harbour.

On the next day the *Sunderland Daily Echo* published the following report:—

"The Honourable Mr. A. M. Bose in an eloquent speech condemned the India War Policy of the present Government. He had, he said, read in a Tory newspaper that Mr. Lambton when speaking at Castle Eden gave an explanation of the origin of the war which was to the effect that certain radical members of Parliament wrote to Greece urging her to make an attack upon Turkey, and the waves spread from Turkey to the frontier of India, and that if there was war there now it was owing to the action of those members of the Parliament, This explanation was perfect, except in two particulars, first, that the Radical members did not write to Greece and urge her to make war upon Turkey, and secondly, it was not correct that the waves had spread from Turkey to the frontier of India. The Royal Society had not yet discovered any such potency in waves, but possibly they would award their gold medal to Mr. Lambton, for his surprising discovery. Mr. Lambton having descended from the ethereal heights of the wave theory had given another explanation of war, which was that the tribes had attacked British officers. This Forward Policy instead of helping to preserve the well-nigh impenetrable barrier between the dominions of Russia and of Britain in Asia had tended to destory it, because it had made enemies of the very people who should have been conciliated and made into our friends Further, all avenues of internal progress were blocked,

because every farthing that could be wrung out of the peasantry of India was required for that in sane policy , ...By the action of the troops in burning and desolating the village and destroying their means of subsistence the women and children were left to perish of starvation and bitter cold. Was that, he asked, a method of warfare that recommended itself to their consciences and their judgment ? Was that consistent with the civilising mission of this great Christian land? He ventured to say that when there was time for reflection, even the sons of those who at the present moment were the supporter of the policy, would blush for shame for the way in which that war had been carried on. He protested against the way in which the editors of certain papers in India had been placed in prison, and kept there without tri al, and said that the Indians would not object to British rule, but they wanted it on British principles. They wanted the reign of law, and not the argument of Siberia in order that they might be bound to England, for good and evil, in ties of affection, in ties of fellowship, in ties of common citizenship."

It is neither necessary nor possible to refer to all the meetings that Mr. Bose addressed. We shall be content only to give a brief account of some, which will show the nature of the work that he did in these eventful months, and give us a glimpse of that eloquence which charmed and thrilled the British public. Mr. Bose rendered very valuable services to Liberal candidates in some bye-elections during his stay in

England. On the 10th February, under the auspices of the Liberal Association, a well-attended meeting was held in the Cambridge Liberal Club. Mr. Bose was the principal speaker and Mr. A. I. Tillyard, M. A., the chairman, in introducing Mr. Bose, said, he need not remind them of the brilliant career that he had had. It had been a subject of astonishment to him that the natives of India could come over here and show such command over the English language, and take such high places in those examinations, which must be so entirely strange to them. Not only was Mr. Bose's career very brilliant at the University, but it had been still more brilliant in his native country. He now came back to plead before English people the cause of his fellow-countrymen. He thought that they had met that night under circumstances of some encouragement. They were there as learners, but there were learners more illustrious than themselves, and amongst that number he might place Lord Salisbury and the leaders of the Tory party. Mr. Bose, who was received with cheers, first spoke of the Frontier Policy, the subject of his address being "The Forward Policy, true and false." Here is an extract from a report:—

"Dealing with the internal affairs of India, he contended that never in the history of the world had there been witnessed on the part of a conquered nation a policy of ostracism such as had been carried out in connection with the agencies by which the administration of India was carried on. He gave a number of

instances of this in appointments to public offices, and pointed out the small percentage of district judges who were natives, adding on Lord Selborne's testimony that the native judges were as competent to administer the law as English judges. Three hundred years ago there had been a policy of trust in the people, and it had been the departure from that trust which had led to the decay of the Mogul rule. He urged that the proclamation made on behalf of the Queen in 1858 should be carried out. On the question of taxation he quoted Sir Richard Garth, who had been a Conservative M. P. before he was an Indian judge; "Under the present system the Indian people have no voice whatever in their own financial arrangements. The Government are all powerful; they spend what they please, tax as they please, borrow as they please" The system of administering justice was deplorable; Magistrates had manifold offices, and in numbers of cases were both prosecution and judge."

Mr. Bose concluded with a fine peroration, calling upon the English people to make for conditions that would result in one citizenship, one common-weal for all the subjects of the Queen, which was received with loud and prolonged applause. Then followed a singular incident. The gathering was about to disperse, when one Mr. Towers, who had formerly been a Sessions Judge in Bengal, rose to criticise some of the statements of Mr. Bose. The meeting was not intended for discussion, but only to hear an address from Mr. Bose;

but when Mr. Towers got up, the Chairman turned to Mr. Bose, who said he would be most glad to have the Anglo-Indian and official side placed before the meeting. Mr. Towers then combatted, one by one, the propositions laid down by Mr. Bose. This done, he sat down. Immediately Mr. Bose sprang to his feet to reply, completely annihilated every statement of his opponent, and then and there produced authority after authority in support of his case. Never was a rout more complete, and never was the enthusiasm of an audience greater. After this, before ending his speech, Mr. Bose challenged Mr. Towers to further discussion; but the latter was so demoralised by the defeat that the declined. Nay, before his adversary had done with him, and finished his reply, he beat a hasty and precipitate retreat, to the infinite enjoyment of the meeting. The *Cambridge Daily News*, in reference to this discussion observed: "He answered all the points attacked by Major Towers with great eloquence, and, at the close was cheered to the echo, Major Towers having left the room in the middle of Mr. Bose's defence." The *Cambridge Independent Press* remarked: "The meeting addressed by Mr. A. M. Bose at the Liberal Club on Wednesday, was rendered doubly interesting by the presence of an intelligent and well-informed Opposition. Mr. Towers, an ex-district Judge from India, criticised Mr. Bose's address. In one matter of detail he showed that his remarks might be misunderstood; but Mr. Bose, in his masterly reply, fairly rolled on his opponent

and squeezed him out flat. I trust, the result of the meeting will be a greatly increased interest in Indian affairs, which demand so careful a watch kept on them just now." One occupying a leading position, who was present at the meeting, wrote to Mr Bose: "May I say with what thrilling interest I heard you on Wednesday evening, and how ashamed I feel of the want of magnanimity on the part of England towards India?" Another gentleman of great local influence, who had not been able to attend the meeting, wrote to Mr. Bose on the subject: "Allow me to close with hearty congratulations on your meetig, at the Liberal Club. So many people told me on Saturday of the way in which you annihilated your opponent that I felt almost sorry for him,—more sorry for myself to have been debarred by an important engagement from enjoying his discomfiture."

On the International Peace Day, the 22nd of February, Mr. Bose was invited by the Wisbech Peace Association to address a public gathering in the local Institute Hall. The audience was large. The President in his opening remarks refferred to the pleasure it afforded them to have the Hon. Mr. A. M. Bose Present, who no doubt was well versed in Indian matters and would be able to throw a good deal of light upon the matter. He thought that England desired to pursue a policy of freedom, justice and humanity, which was the policy that the Peace Society desired to support and advocate. Mr. Bose said that he was glad to be asso-

ciated with them at Wisbech, in the celebration of the International Peace Day, which for years past, and at the present time, in the midst of clashing and increasing arms, spreading their shadow over the different parts of civilization. afforded comfort, sweetness and a soothing power. Peace might be looked upon as a dream at the present time, but they were confident that the time would come when the nations would rejoice, and would join in joyous international celebration, when the whole earth would ring with Hosannas of "Peace on earth and goodwill to men." After briefly referring to the celebration of the Peace Day all over the world, Mr. Bose spoke at length of what the military spirit meant for India. The 'pitifully poor" condition of India at the present moment, and the burden of taxation resting upon the people, justified the belief that it would be impossible for that country to meet the enormous cost of the war. In a country more oppressively taxed than any country in the world, subject to periodical famines and ruinous wars, is it not time that a policy less disastrous should be initiated, which would bring peace, and mitigate the poverty of its people; Two resolutions which were unanimously carried, were directed to be forwarded to the Premier and the leaders of both political parties. Mr. A. E. Clarke, in seconding the resolution condemning the Forward Policy, alluded to the great treat they had had in hearing the Hon. A. M. Bose and added that he had always been proud of their Indian Empire, but he had never been

so proud as that night, when an Indian spoke to them in a foreign language with so much pathos and eloquence.

On the 4th March, Mr. Bose spoke before the Cambridge Fabian Society. On the 5th he addressed a public meeting at Cottenham. The *Cambridge Daily News* thus referred to this meeting: "Mr. A. M. Bose, whose speeches at Cambridge and elsewhere have been so well received, went into rural parts on Saturday night and addressed an audience of Cottenham folk, with his accustomed force and eloquence, on the Tory policy in India. Mr. John Todd presided, and having briefly introduced Mr. Bose, that gentleman began a lengthy speech, by tracing the frontier difficulty down from the establishment of an embassy at Kabul. The speech throughout was listened to with the closest attention, the most vigorous passages being punctuated with cordial applause; and wherever the speaker showed signs of terminating, there were loud cries for him to proceed. The resolution he moved condemned "the forward military policy, as well as the reactionary internal policy adopted by the present Government in India," and declared that "it was alike unworthy of the traditions and honour of England and fraught with danger to the safety of the Empire."

"Beginning with the Kabul embassy idea of Disraeli, the speaker said that statesman proceeded to accomplish his end by pretences and under-handed means, and not by the usual British method of fighting openly.

Lord Northbrook, he proceeded, had the English honesty to decline to carry out these methods, and resigned; Lord Lytton, "a pliant tool", being sent in his stead. The war followed brought on by a pretext for a quarrel, and the results were disastrous. Mr. Gladstone, when in power, checked this forward policy, but unfortunately the Conservatives had been in office a good deal, and it was renewed. The retention of Chitral was then reviewed. An English officer went where he had no business, and got into danger, and a rescue party—very properly—was sent to defend him, on the understanding, however, that they were to return. Before the retirement could be accomplished, however, the Liberal Ministry went out of office, and the Conservatives, coming in, decided that having got to Chitral they would stay there, in violation of their promise; they had kept the road there, and had fortified it, and in consequence there had been since June a disastrous war. In it a larger army had been employed than that employed so gloriously by Wellington at Waterloo, and yet by the confessions of the Tory party themselves, it had been a failure. To prove this, the speaker quoted, amid cheers, Mr. Balfour at Manchester, Mr. Chamberlain at Liverpool, and finally Mr. Lean's declaration in Parliament that the war had been "one of the most futile and inglorious wars in which England had ever engaged." But not only, continued Mr. Bose, had the war been inglorious and futile, also it had been disfigured and disgraced by acts of cruelty which would

bring the blush of shame to the face of Englishmen when they fully knew what had been done in their name. The soldiers had not only fought, but they had destroyed the villages, injured the watercourses, and cut down the fruit trees, so that the injury done would last for years. The audience, cordially agreeing with this, cheered and cried shame lustily. Having quoted Sir Charles Napiers's strong letters in 1850 against such proceedings the speaker referred to the internal government, and commented at length on the composition of Legislative Councils, the hardships of Indians who wished to enter the Civil Service, the inadequate representations of the Indians on Judicial benches, the summary imprisonment of natives without trial, and the unjust suppression of the native press. In a Legislative Council for seventy millions of people they had only twenty-one members, of which eleven are officials of the government so that their rulers maintained a permanent standing majority against them. Nor were all the remaining ten elected. Three more were appointed by the Government, so there only remained seven to be elected by the seventy millions of people, and these had to be approved by the Government. . . . Mr. Bose then dealt in eloquent language with the imprisonment of leading citizens without a proper trial. The whole European press were united against the withholding of a single document in the Dreyfus case, but in India men were put into goal in utter ignorance

of what offence they had committed. Mr. Bose then concluded with a powerful appeal to his audience to do their utmost to see that the glorious tradition of England as a land of liberty and justice should be handed down unflawed to succeeding generations; loud cheers were given as he resumed his seat.

On the 14th of March, Mr. Bose delivered an address at Peterborough, under the auspices of the Peterborough Liberal Association, which was reported at length in the *Peterborough Advertiser.* We take the following abridged account of it from the *Oldham Chronicle* :

"A most interesting address upon the state of India was given of Thursday by Mr. A. M. Bose, who until recently was a member of the Bengal Legislative Council. Mr. Bose is a typical Hindu in appearance, and is a most eloquent speaker, having a ready and fluent command of English. Mr. Bose revealed the existence of a state of things in India hardly credible in free England. There, under the present Tory regime neither the liberty of the subject nor the right of free speech is recognized. Prominent native citizens are arrested, under the authority of the Viceroy, and imprisoned without trial, and without even being informed of the charges preferred against them. They are denied the right of seeing counsel, and have their liberty taken away without knowing the cause, or having a chance of defending themselves. Such a state of things is disgraceful and a blot upon our boasted administra-

tion. Not content with taking away the liberty of the subject, the Government are now gagging the native press, so as to prevent the people expressing, in a perfectly legitimate and constitutional manner, their grievances and their views. This too is scandalous, and both reflect the greatest discredit upon the Government. What the English, and particularly the Lancashire people, require on the subject of tho Government of India is enlightenment. The presence in our midst of a few gentlemen of Mr. Bose's intellectual capacity and practical knowledge of the needs of India would do much towards diffusing amongst the electorate a true estimate of the Tory administration in that great country, and also create such a feeling against such un-English methods of Government as would effectually secure a change in the method of Goverument at the first opportunity.

On the 17th. Mr. Bose spoke at Oldham under the auspices of the Oldham Liberal Union on "Justice to India." Mr. Bose, who was accorded a very hearty reception, said it was impossible for him to address an audience in Lancashire without being reminded that the close and intimate connection which existed between England and India was still closer and more intimate between Lancashire and India.

"He knew that the people of Lancashire more than even the rest of the people of England would be interested in the progress and prosperiety of India because when there was contenment, security, and an

era of prosperity and when there were facilities for the industrial development of the conntry, trade would flourish, to the advantage alike of consumer aud producer—India and England. There was another reason why he felt special pleasure in being there, and that was because there was no name in India remembered with greater gratitude or affection than that of John Bright, who had lived and died a few miles from that hall. India was a very large country, having an area fifteen times the size of the United Kingdom and a population of nearly three hundred millions. What was it therefore that held India to England ? It was the confidence of the people of India in British Justice. That sentiment was the strongest pillar and the surest foundation upon which rested the loving connection between England and India. There were seventy thousand British soldiers in India but what were they in comparison to its population ? They would be like chaff before the wind, but for that strong confidence in the British intention to deal justly by the various interests of that vast country. It was necessary from time to time to examine how it fared with a nation. Some three years ago the people of England sent into power a government supposed to be a very strong one so far as majority was concerned. It become important, at the lapse of that time for the people of England to ask, Did the honour and prestige of England, now stand as high in the councils of the nations as they did three

years ago? Let Armenia or Brete answer. Had the commercial prosperity of England been maintained? Let Madagascar or Tunis answer. Was it not a fact that the commerce and trade, enjoyed by England when this government came into power, no longer existed? What had the government done to strengthen the foundations of the Empire! In this connection he would call their attention to India. Suppose after they left that meeting any of them were arrested on a warrant issued by the authorities, and placed in prison without knowing the charge against them, without being brought before the Magistrates, and being denied an interview with their solicitor or friends what would they think of it? Absolutely incredible as that state of things might appear that his what happened in India."

The greatest triumph and honour of the whole campagin was perhaps in connection with the annual conference of the National Liberal Federation which was that year held at Leicester. This is the great annual party-meeting at which the policy of the party is formulated and declared. Mr. Bose was the first, and up to this time the only, Indian who had the honour of taking a prominent part in the proceedings of the conference. On the first day of the meeting it is usual to invite a few of the more distinguished delegates to address some country meetings in or about the place where the Federation Conference is held, and Mr. Bose was selected as one of these few. Accompanied by Mr. Frederic Maddison, M. P. Mr. Bose proceeded

to Market Harborough, where he made a speech which was reported at great length. In the conference itself, on the 22nd March, he was selected to speak to the resolution on the foreign colonial and Indian policy of the Government, which was as follows :—"That this Council deplores the results which have as a whole attended the foreign, colonial and Indian policy of the Government—a policy of alternately bullying the weak and making 'graceful concessions' to the strong—which since the accession of Lord Salisbury to office, has given rise to an unparalleled series of crises and complications, involving an expenditure on ormaments beyond all precedent and seriously compromising the honour and interests of the country." This was proposed by Mr. W. S. Robson, Q. C., M. P., who spoke on the foreign and colonial aspects and Mr. Bose, who seconded, was to speak on the Indian part of the resolution. "Sandwiched between Q. C.'s and M. P.'s—the best speakers of the party,"—a journalist wrote immediately afterwards, "it was a hazardous task on the part of Mr. Bose to respond to the call. However, he mustered up the requisite courage, and began to speak as if he was in his own country in the midst of his own people. He spoke, as it were from inspiration. Mr. Bose carried the whole audience with him, and was repeatedly cheered. The *Leicester Daily Post* calls it 'a masterly speech.' We are glad to be able to present our readers the following somewhat full report of this speech :—

"The Hon. A. M. Bose, M. A. (late a member of the

Bengal Legislative Council) received a most hearty greeting on rising to second the proposition. In the course of a forcible aad eloquent address, he said he ventured to look upon their calling him to second the motion as a mark of the growing solidarity of this great and glorious empire, a mark of the growing recognition of the unity of the empire, and above all, as a symbol, a testimony to the fact that the living principle of Liberalism, the principles of fair dealing, of justice and righteousness and equity, embraced India within their influence. It was a mark that the great Liberal party which, in moments of similar crises in the fortunes of this country had stemmed the mischief of the Conservative policy, and restored peace and contentment when unrest had taken a firm hold in the land, had not forgotten India in the time of her need. The policy of the present Government had deplorable consequences—a policy of aggression beyond the frontier, and oppression within, a policy that had caused panic where contentment and confidence had prevailed before, a policy which in the words of the resolution had compromised honour, and had imperilled the interests of England, in that vast country that had been rightly described as the brightest jewel in the diadem of the crown. It was a policy of fight against liberty, a fight against the liberty of the tribes beyond the border, and a policy of fight against the liberty of Her Majesty's subjects within the borders. If they wished to see the Tory policy unexaggerated and undiluted let them go to

India where they would find what that policy meant. They would find there that in the course of two years the Government had succeeded in lighting up the fires of war on the frontiers of a country the dimensions of which are so vast, and the consequences of which were wickedly prejudicial to the best interests of the country. They would find the policy unchecked by public opinion, unfettered by the voice of a free and potent press and uncontrolled by Parliament. They would see that policy in all its naked beauty or rather its naked ugliness revelling in the luxuriance of a tropical growth. If such a humble delegate as he might offer a suggestion he would say that if they wanted to convert a Tory working man into a sound Liberal, they could not place before him a better object-lesson than the disastrous consequences of the Tory policy in India. He said that from personal experience of the electors of this country, he had found the true English instincts everywhere rebelled against that naked exhibition of the true essence of the Tory policy. What had been the result of that policy? They had lighted a conflagration which was so vast in its extent, unique in its character, and disastrous in its consequences, that it was unparalleled in the history of India, dominated as it had been by the spirit of militarism, which had actually captured the Government of India. Into the consequences of the present was he could not go. Mr. Balfour had proclaimed from the house-tops that where the British soldier went, he went to stay. Against all

pledges of honour, against all instructions, Chitral was retained. The Liberal policy was reversed. And never had Liberal statesmanship been more completely vindicated, Liberal foresight more completely established, and never had the reversal of liberal policy met a more swift retribution than in the case of Chitral. The pity of it was this: Who had to pay the cost of this exhibition of folly? It was India. Her Majesty's government, it seemed to him, believed in a division of labour, and carried it out in a very peculiar way. They laid down the policy that India had to bear the cost, but he ventured to say that if England had to bear the burden of a policy of reckless adventure and wicked aggression, and the government had to pass a vote in Parliament that that contribution should be made, the people of England would at once have taken them to task. There were at one time indications that some measure of justice would be meted out to a country afflicted with famine, pestilence, and war, but this policy against liberty had been pursued externally as well as internally. It had been directed not simply against the independent mountaineers beyond the frontier, but what was not so well-known here was that, it was directed against the patient subject of Her Majesty who inhabited that vast country. Would it be believed that there were British subjects kept indefinitely in prison without trial, by the order of the British rulers of that country? It used at one time to be said that the moment a slave

touched the soil of England the manacles fell from him. In place of that proud boast they had now legalised kidnapping, which was the only term he could apply to circumstances of that kind. He supposed it was no wonder that people who did deeds of that kind resented criticism, and it followed as a matter of course that they had been tampering with the liberty of the Press in such a manner as to bring forth from his place in the British House of Commons a denunciation from Mr. McLaren of a measure which was altogether an interference with the liberty of the subject in a way that was dishonourable to England and in a way dangerous to the safety of the Empire. They had at the present moment introduced a measure in order to curtail the municipal privilleges which the metropolis of India had enjoyed so long. It was a bitter thing to reflect that when London rejected the advice of Lord George Hamilton, in India his will in matters municipal was paramount. Let him warn those whom it concerned not to try the policy of going back in India. Let "hands off" be the cry of England, when existing privileges were sought to be taken away, and when the people were to be deprived of concessions that had been granted for years. The Tories called themselves the Imperialist party, but they were acting the part not of friends but of enemies of the empire. Theirs was a policy that was making rapidly, not for the salvation but towards the disintegration of the Empire, unless the people of England rise and tell them of the

danger of the steps they are taking. He trusted the Liberal party would have emblazoned on its banner the motto "Justice to India" a country where knowledge lighted her brightest torch, and where philosophy and thought found their cradle in ages far back, because if there was glory in rule, if there was pride in empire, there was one glory still greater, there was one glory still brighter and more enduring, written on pages that lived for ever more, and that was the glory to be derived from helping the weak to resist, and by extending the bounds of freedom and liberty in all countries that were under the rule of her most Gracious Majesty the Queen."

Referring to this address Mr. W. S. Caine wrote to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*: "The political event of the week has been the annual meeting of the National Liberal Federation at Liecester, comprising over one thousand delegates from the Liberal Associations of England and Wales. Various resolutions were carried, bearing on various items of the official Liberal programme, the main interest, however, centring in the one moved by Mr. S. Robson, Q.C., M.P., and seconded by Mr. A. M. Bose of Calcutta, who was the elected representative of the Cambridge Liberal Association. Mr. Robson confined himself to the Foreign and Colonial, leaving Mr. Bose to deal with the Indian aspect of the resolution. It was the first time that an Indian has been elected a delegate of the Federation, and Mr. Bose was greeted with prolonged and hearty

applause. In the course of a forcible and eloquent address, all his points being keenly taken up by his audience, he formulated a telling impeachment of the policy of the present Government. The resolution was then supported by Mr. Ellis Griffiths, M.P., and carried unanimously. It was the universal opinion that Mr. Bose carried off the honours of the day; and the impression made upon the delegates was profound, and will last. It is indeed a pity that the same impression should not be made upon every Liberal Club and Association throughout the United Kingdom by men of the calibre of Mr. Bose. This patriotic Indian gentleman is doing superb work for his countrymen.

On the next day Mr. Bose had the honour of being invited to address the crowded annual meeting of the Women's Liberal Federation, an adjunct of the National Liberal Federation, which was also held in Liecester. During the next few weeks he addressed several enthusiastic meetings throughout Lancashire. On Monday evening, the 28th March in the British School, Great Harwood, a meeting was convened for the purpose of hearing an address on "The Indian Question" by Mr. Bose. Referring to it the *Durham News* wrote: "The meeting held at Great Harwood on Monday evening last must have been the means of interesting those who were present in what is known as the Indian question. Mr. A. M. Bose in the course of an admirable address, which is fully reported in our news columns, gave a lucid exposition of the state of

affairs which exists in that country, and showed in a very clear manner how close was the connection between Lancashire and India. He also pointed out that the military *regime* which obtained in India, and which Lord Roberts, in his recent speech in the House of Lords, defended at considerable length, was a severe drain on the finances of the country, and also that it did not tend to keep up terms of peace with the native tribes, both of which are very important matters."

From the London *Inquirer* we get a brief account of two other meetings in Liverpool. "At the recent annual meeting," writes this paper, "of the Liverpool and Birkenhead Woman's Peace and Arbitration Society, the principal speaker was Mr. A. M. Bose of Calcutta; and Sir John Brunner, M.P., and Lady Brunner availed themselves of the opportunity to give him a reception at the Unitarian Institution the following day. On both occasions, as well as in private intercourse, Mr. Bose produced a deep impression on the minds and hearts of all those who heard or met him. At the Peace meeting held on the 29th March at the Friends' Institute, and presided over by Miss Thompson, he spoke for nearly an hour on "India and the Frontier War," holding the attention of his audience without pause from first to last. He vigorously denounced the war policy of the Indian Government, and pointed out that the money spent on military expeditions, and wrung out of a poverty-stricken people, of whom no less than forty millions were in a state of chronic

starvation, would amply have sufficed to make all famine impossible throughout the length and breadth of British India. At Sir John Brunner's reception there was a large attendance, including several ministers. Mr. Bose spoke for three quarters of an hour, mainly on the history of the Brahmo Samaj."

On Sunday the 7th of April, Mr. Bose was again at Liverpool and addressed a meeting. The late Rev. Richard Armstrong wrote the following letter to the *Liverpool Daily Post* to draw the attention of the public: "Will you allow me to call the attention of your readers to the approaching visit of this eminent Hindu gentleman? Mr. Bose was till recently a member of the Legislative Council of Bengal. He is a man of the highest culture, a graduate of Cambridge, and a barrister in leading practice in Calcutta. To hear from such a man a sober criticism on the relations of the British Government to the Indian natives, is in the highest degree interesting and instructive. Mr. Bose's recent address on the frontier war was remarkable, not only for the force of its argument and its wealth of statement but for the extraordinary command which he displayed over the English language in its richest oratorical forms. On Sunday evening Mr. Bose will address the congregation at Hope Street Church immediately after the evening service, probably a few minutes before eight o'clock. He will speak on the social and political relations between England and India."

And so on. Meetings followed in close succession, keeping Mr. Bose fully occupied through the period of his stay in England. We shall not try to notice them all; we shall close the account of this unique campaign with the mention of two interesting meetings in Manchester. On the 15th of April the annual meeting of the Liberal Twelve Hundred, representing all that is highest and most influential in the Liberal ranks, was held in Manchester, and Mr. Bose was requested to speak. Before the meeting he was entertained at dinner by the President of the Liberal Union at the Manchester Reform Club, several distinguished local Liberal gentlemen having been invited to meet him. Mr. Bose's engagement was to speak at the annual meeting on the 15th; but as soon as he had fulfilled that engagement he was surprised to receive a telegram, requesting him with earnestness to address a meeting of Mr. A. J. Balfour's constituents, in East Manchester. Mr. Bose had already made his engagements, so he had to wire in reply that he was free only on the 19th, and that he could address a meeting of the citizens of East Manchester only on that day, if they could get one up at so short a notice.

The meeting was held and was a great success. Mr. Bose having spoken at length on the grievances of India asked for sympathy on behalf of his countrymen as fellow human beings who had recently been afflicted with the triple curse of war, pestilence and famine. He appealed to the people of the United Kingdom, because

they were primarily responsible for the welfare of India. He said:—

"It was the people of these Islands who made and unmade government, and they could not divest themselves of that responsibility. England's mission was to extend the bounds of liberty, to spread the light of civilisation and to create privileges that made for progress amongst the nations of the world. "You have heard," Mr. Bose observed in conclusion, "of the scare of a Russian invasion. Make up your mind upon this, that if you are just in your dealings, true Englishmen in your policy, then not all the Russians in the world—nay, the rest of the world in arms can do anything to India, because behind your army will be the willing and obedient services of many millions of my countrymen. The strongest of fortifications against Russia is that which you can raise in the hearts of the Indian people. That is the true conquest of India, and I trust that Her Majesty's Ministers will on reflection see that legislation undertaken in panic and carried out in haste against a people entrusted to their rule is not statesmanship. The lessons of history teach us that, that empire alone will last which is founded on justice and righteousness. May God grant that the empire of England will remember that and act accordingly."

At the conclusion of Mr. Bose's address, on the motion of Mr. T. Eggington, seconded by Mr. W. Wilkinson and supported by Mr. Jesse Haworth, the following resolution was passed with acclamation:

"This meeting strongly condemns the reactionary and repressive policy now being pursued in India, and in particular the imprisonment of British subjects without trial, the passing of a law which is dangerous to the liberty of the press, the virtual exclusion of the natives of India from posts in the Education Department, previously open to them, and the attempt being made to seriously curtail the privileges of municipal self-government hitherto enjoyed by the metropolis of India. This meeting earnestly requests Her Majesty's Government to renounce the prosecution of such a policy, which in its opinion is fraught with danger, and is likely to create serious discontent and disaffection in India, and is opposed alike to the honour, traditions, and interests of this country." When the meeting was over, the chairman of the Division asked Mr. Bose, whether he would allow himself to be nominated as the Liberal candidate at the next General Election.

Everywhere he went, Mr. Bose, with his superb eloquence and magnetic personality, created a living interest in favour of India. The extent of the impression he succeeded in making will be understood from the following extract from a letter written to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* by an influential Lancashire gentleman, Mr. William Harrop. He writes : "After hearing Mr. Bose's lecture I asked myself,—Can these things be? It is no benefit to me and my countrymen that India should be misgoverned. If its resources are devoted to gratify the luxurious demands of these pampered

officials, is it not I and my fellowmen who are responsible, for have we not the vote and do we not make and unmake Governments? My resolution was soon taken. So far as I am concerned I will be no party to the infliction of misery on two hundred millions of human beings."

Besides political meetings, Mr. Bose also spoke in many religious and temperance meetings. He was the principal speaker at the annual meeting of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, held in the library of the Memorial Hall. Referring to this meeting the *Abkari* wrote: "Tea was served at a buffet at 5-30, when the patriarchal Mr. Samuel Smith, M. P., took the chair. After the reports had been read he made a speech, in which he assured the Indian people of the great sympathy of England in their recent calamities. He is not a fascinating speaker, but the Hon'ble A. M. Bose, of the Calcutta Legislative Council, who succeeded him, is an orator. The command of English displayed by some of these Indian gentlemen is amazing, and Mr. Bose made a temperance speech of half-an-hour's duration which thrilled those present." He was also one of the speakers at the annual meeting of the Metropolitan Templars' Federation. which was held in St. Martin's Town Hall, Charing Cross, on the 14th of May. Mr. Bose was invited to speak and distribute diplomas at the Annual Reunion of the Templars' Institute of Playmouth.

Mr. A. M. Bose had to address many religious

meetings in connection with the Unitarian churches of England. We shall make room for the following brief report of one as a sample. A London paper wrote: "On Sunday morning Mr. A. M. Bose of Calcutta preached at Effra Road, the service being conducted by the Rev. James Harwood. Taking for his text the farewell words of Joshua, addressed to his people, exhorting them to forsake false gods and ending "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." Mr. Bose said:—

"Amid the hurry and pressure and discontent of our modern civilisation, it is well to pause and reflect upon the blessings which are inseparable from our existence. The sunlight, the air, the water are of priceless value to us. Yet God lavishes them upon us without price. In the wonderful hydraulics of his creation the parched plains of India are watered by the descent of clouds which the sun has raised up from distant oceans, and in like manner we inherit, unpurchased and unmerited by us, mental and spiritual treasures achieved for us by saints, prophets, martyrs in the past, by a Socrates, by a Sakyamuni. Devout gratitude for blessings so manifold is no painful or unwelcome or humiliating task. It is the spontaneous impulse of every right thinking mind, it is a joyous homage which the best of mankind have always loved to render. What greater delight for youth or for maiden than to feel the impulse of that gratitude and to seek from God the strength to render him grateful service? For only in his strength and not

in our own can a truly earnest and persistent life of service be lived on earth. Strength can only be won by struggles and only through storms can the soul rise into peace. But at last conflicts and temptations lose their power and happy are they who thus rise even in this world into the blessed life of conscious communion with God and live and move and have their being in Him. To them their existence has no meaning except that which is cast upon it by the light which streams down from their Father's footstool. May it be given to all of us here to mount to that serene height of calm before our earthly journey is over. The visible idols which tempted our ancestors away from the worship of God are long ago forgotten; but in their stead you and I have subtler idols, whose service often wins us away from His,—passions and follies which have become flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood. Yet a higher than any prophet's voice, a voice of the yearnings and longings of our own immortal nature appeals to us to turn like the Isrælites of old from these idols to the true God, and as the telescope sweeps through the universe and proclaims the glory of the Lord and as the spiritual growth of mankind reveals more and more of His nature, His will and His purposes, happy will they be who can say as did Joshua, "I and my house will serve the Lord." If we do but fix our spiritual gaze upon Him, He will ever reveal himself to the seeking and prayerful soul with a glory that will so draw us unto Him that neither the world's

temptations nor its buffetings can hinder our upward course. Cling to His arms and be led by Him into the paths of his grace which lie before us and pray. He will so draw you to himself that you may be transformed into your inmost spirit into his own likeness."

After the most strenuous and exhausting labours of ten months in England the time had now come for Mr. Bose to return to India. He was to part from his many friends whom he would not again see. The Anglo-Indian Temperance Association organised a farewell meeting, of which the following account was given by the London correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*: "A very interesting gathering took place last Tuesday afternoon at the house of Mr. J. Herbert Roberts, M. P., and Mr. and Mrs. Roberts invited a number of the leaders of the Temperance movement to a friendly cup of tea and to bid farewell to the Hon. A. M. Bose of Calcutta, who will shortly return to India. The meeting was of a very representative character, in spite of the fact that it was held at the time of the year when so many people are leaving for the country. Letters of apology for absence were received from Lord Kinnaiard, Sir Wilford Lawson, Bart., M. P., Mr. John Wilson, M. P., Mr. John Colville, M. P., Mr. C. E. Schwann, M. P., Rev. Canon Fleming B. D., (Chaplain to the Queen) ; Sir William Wedderburn, Bart, M. P., and many others. Mr. J. Herbert Roberts, M. P., took the chair at the

meeting and in his opening remarks warmly eulogised the splendid services which Mr. Bose had rendered to India generally, and to the Temperance cause in particular during his residence in this country. Mr Henry J. Wilson, M. P., moved the following resolution : "This meeting desires to place on record their warm and grateful appreciation of the valuable service rendered to the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association during the last nine months by the Hon'ble Ananda Mohan Bose ; they wish him a pleasant and prosperous voyage home, and a long, happy and useful life devoted to the best interests of the people of India." The resolution was seconded in a hearty little speech by. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who claimed the right to speak as an Englishman as well as an Indian. It was, however, as a native of India that he felt the deepest gratitude to Mr. Bose, for the able and eloquent way in which he had advocated the cause of India as well as the cause of Temperance in all parts of the country. He still looked upon Mr. Bose as a young man and he hoped that his future life in India might be full of usefulness and good works for the people of India. The speeches which followed brought out the representative character of the meeting ....All the speakers united in bearing testimony to the sustained work which Mr. Bose had carried on during the last few months. Mr. Bose made a characteristic reply full of the eloquence which had charmed so many audiences all over the country. He said he had been quite overwhelmed by the kindness with

which he had everywhere been received. He had been warmly welcomed on his arrival in this country, and he regarded this meeting of representative temperance workers as the finishing touch to his visit. It was quite a wrench to him to have to say farewell to so many kind friends. He felt almost as much at home in England as he did in India. It had been one of his chief aims since he had been in England to strengthen the ties of sympathy which existed between the British nation and the people of India, and he had done what little he could to remove the obstacles to the growth of that sentiment. He believed that England's solicitude for the moral welfare of the Indian people was evidenced in such movements as that which they represented that day—a movement whose object was to save the people of his native land from the evils of drink. They stood greatly in need of English sympathy and help in this great cause and he trusted that it would never be withheld from them. Once again he thanked them for their great kindness to him and for the resolution which they had so unanimously passed."

So amid the good wishes of his numerous friends he turned his back upon the west, as it happened to be, for the last time. He had a hope that he would be able to revisit England on some future occasion, when he might also see America, but that hope remained unfulfilled.

CHAPTER XI

The Nation's Tribute

The reports of Mr. Bose's work in England, which were carefully read all over India, naturally awakened great enthusiasm and admiration in the hearts of his countrymen. His movements were watched with keen interest, and on his return home, he received a cordial and enthusiastic reception. The long series of demonstrations in his honour, which began from the day when he set his foot on Indian soil, continued for many weeks, culminating in the splendid ovation given him by the delegates of the nation assembled at the fourteenth session of the Indian National Congess held at Madras. Mr. Bose landed in Bombay on the 3rd of September. The citizens of the *Primus Urbus in Indies* received him with open arms. A public meeting was held under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Association at the Novelty Theatre the same evening. The theatre was packed from the platform to the ceiling by an enthusiastic and representative gathering of all classes of the community. The citizens of Bombay, Hindus, Mahommedans and Parsees, vied with each other in honouring their great fellow-countryman, who, they felt, had rendered signal service to the nation. The following resolution was carried with acclamation :

"That this public meeting wishes to give cordial ex-

pression to its high appreciation of the valuable services rendered by the Hon'ble A. M. Bose, in placing before the British public the views and feelings of the people of this country, regarding the policy that has recently been pursued, concerning Indian affairs, and tenders to him their best thanks for his able vindication of the loyalty and attachment to the British Crown of the educated as well as all other classes of the Indian community."

In supporting the resolution, representative speakers paid a glowing tribute to the devotion, self-sacrifice and great ability with which Mr. Bose had served the cause of his country, not only during his stay in England, but throughout his life. Mr. Bose replied in a lengthy and eloquent speech, thanking the meeting for their kind reception, which he looked upon as "a mark of the growing sense of unity amongst the various provinces of the country, a growing sense of solidarity which is marked step by step in its onward march from day to day." With his characteristic modesty, he wished that he might live to deserve even a tithe or the hundredth part of the kind and cordial sentiments that had been expressed that evening. He testified to the sense of justice of the British nation, supporting his statement by many instances of magnanimous and enthusiastic response to the appeal for fair dealing with India, from all classes of people,—from University men to the hard-working labourers of Lancashire—and concluded with an earnest appeal to continue the work he had begun.

Mr. Bose's speech sent a thrill through the country and infused fresh vigour into the hearts of public men and political bodies all over India. It was believed that he had felt the pulse of the body politic in England; he had awakened in the British public a liberal curiosity to know all about India; and he had been able to ascertain how much of that curiosity, how much of the interest evinced by them on behalf of India, was genuine and spontaneous. His speech was reproduced in the leading papers of all the provinces, and the whole nation was unanimous in acknowledging the value of his strenuous labour in England.

A yet grander reception awaited Mr. Bose in Calcutta. He was to arrive there on the 5th of September, and the mere announcement of the fact was enough to draw a vast concourse of his fellow townsmen to the Howrah Railway Station, which presented a unique spectacle. It was the spontaneous outburst of a patriotic desire on the part of the people to appreciate the work of one who had voluntarily taken upon himself the task of pleading their cause before the English people. From 4 o'clock in the afternoon the graduates and undergraduates of the University collected at College Square, and within an hour's time about a thousand of them were seen ready to march to the railway station with banners and flags and mottos of various descriptions on them. This body formed into a procession and wended its way through Harrison Road, and across the Howrah Bridge to the station compound.

The spacious ground in front of the station was occupied by them and the assembly looked like a guard of honour. At the platform a large number of leading men of the city were present. On alighting from the train, amidst deafening cheers from those present on the platform Mr. Bose could hardly stand a second to speak to his friends. He was surrounded by a sea of human heads, and with the greatest difficulty was taken to a carriage-and-four which was waiting outside. Here he was garlanded and continued to be cheered lustily. After the storm of cheers was over, he found a breathing-time to speak to his friends who had all along been plying him with innumerable questions about his health and his work in England. The carriage was then driven slowly, and amidst a beautiful torch-light procession and enthusiastic greeting, Mr. Bose found himself after a couple of hours at the door of his house.

Congratulations and addresses poured in from all parts of the country. Many public meetings were held in Calcutta and other places. The inhabitants of Mymensingh, the district in which he was born, appropriately enough led the way. They organised an evening party in honour of Mr. Bose, where over a thousand persons met together to honour the man whose achievements had shed a lustre on the name of their district. After the Secretary of the Reception Committee had read letters of sympathy from different Associations and individuals, an address in Bengali from the inhabitants

of Mymensingh was presented to Mr. Bose. The Brahmo Samaj Committee consisting of representatives of the three sections of the Brahmo Samaj, next gave him a public welcome at the Albert Hall. The chair was taken by the Rev. Protap Chandra Mozoomdar. In response to an invitation from the chair, Mr. Bose gave a short account of his work in England on behalf of the Brahmo Samaj. The following welcome resolution was then moved from the chair: "The Brahmo Samaj Committee offer their warm welcome to Mr. A. M. Bose on his return home, after doing excellent work in England to further the interests of the Brahmo Samaj." In the speeches that followed, various speakers pointed out that Mr. Bose was truly a golden link between the East and the West, and between faith and culture. His large-heartedness and broad sympathies were also a golden link to bind the various communities of India together. Men like Mr. A. M. Bose, who had devoted themselves with such zeal to the service of the country, supplied the best and the most effective answer to the criticism so recklessly levelled against the Brahmo Samaj of being a narrow and sectarian movement. The members of the Metropolitan Temperance and Purity Association presented to him an address of welcome, in which they gratefully acknowledged that, in the midst of his multifarious labours, he had conducted a vigorous temperance campaign, which had invigorated the movement by his stirring appeals and had deepened British sympathy

for the many burning aspects of the cause in India. And finally the citizens of Calcutta held a great public meeting in the Town Hall of Calcutta on the 16th of September. The gathering was repesentative in its character, enthusiastic in its admiration of the honoured guest of the evening, and heartily appreciative of the great services he had rendered to them in England. The deafening applause which greeted the appearance of Mr. Bose, and the thundering cheers which followed on his rising to address the assembly, betokened the depth of the gratitude of the people to Mr. Bose for his pleading the cause of India before the English public. The Town Hall was literally packed on the occasion The Hon. Babu Kali Charan Banerjee, who presided over the great assembly said that they had met together to accord a cordial welcome to Mr. Bose, in recognition of the many valuable services he had rendered to the cause of this country during his sojourn in England. He had raised his voice on behalf of his country, and that voice was not entirely lost in the wilderness. He then called upon the Hon. Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea to read the address of welcome, which was skilfully engraved on a silver plate, and pronounced to be a fine work of art, and was prensented to Mr. Bose amidst loud applause. Mr. Bose who was visibly affected by the demonstration, then rose to address the assembly, which cheered him loudly for full five minutes. "Calm, being restored, Mr. Bose first expressed his heart-felt thanks for the demon-

strations held in his honour here, as well as the Howrah Station, on his arrival ten days before. He then proceeded to give an account of the kindness with which he was received everywhere in England. While everything was proceeding smoothly and the vast assembly was listening with rapt attention to the brilliant oration of Mr. Bose, he was found tottering and about to faint; the next moment he sat down unable to stand longer. He immediately fainted away, and, in consequence, the meeting had to be brought to a melancholy close. The fact was that the strain of nine months' arduous and incessant labour in England had told severely on his health. Three days after his return home his eldest brother had died suddenly, which was a great shock to his sensitive and highly affectionate nature. In this state of body and mind, the public demonstrations were too much for him, and the heat of the crowded hall and the intense emotion of the occasion were over-powering.

Mr. Bose was soon to receive yet another proof of the admiration and gratitude of the nation. From the day he set his foot in India, he was marked for the Presidency of that year's National Congress. The Press and Public had taken it for granted that he would be elected to preside over the forthcoming great national gathering, which was to be held in Madras. At the present day, it appears to us somewhat surprising that the honour had not come to him much earlier. Mr. Bose was a distinguished Congressman, and both inside and

outside that body, his services to the country's cause had been of a very superior nature. Only at the previous session of the Congress he had made a speech on the reorganisation of the Educational Service of India. which was regarded and referred to in all parts of the country as 'the speech of that session.' The text of this speech will be found in the Appendix to this volume. But somehow or other, perhaps mainly on account of his reluctance to come to the front, up to this time he had not been elected to preside over the Congress. His previous work, though of supreme importance, was largely behind the scenes, the silent but substantial work of organising the political forces of the country. But his campaign in England was of a different nature; and the unanimous voice of the nation nominated him to the highest post of honour which the people of India could confer on one of their fellow citizens; and Mr. Bose could not decline the "call," as he characterised it, "which comes from so many who are entitled to my highest regard."

The nomination was hailed with unanimous approval throughout the country. But his friends felt great anxiety on the score of his health. Mr. Bose had never fully recovered from the break-down at the Town Hall meeting; in fact, it was the first grave warning that the malady which was to cut his life short so prematurely had already set in. As the appointed day of the Congress approached, his friends and family began to fear lest the mishap of the 16th September might be repeated

at the Congress session. His physicians warned him gravely of the risk of presiding over a vast gathering. He had prepared himself against every emergency, as he afterwards explained in his concluding speech at the Congress. "Shall I tell you a secret, my friends?" said he. "The day before I left Calcutta, I arranged with a dearly loved and honored friend that he would read for me that address which I had written. I did not then anticipate that I should have even the strength given to me to read it before you, but God, in His kindness, has sustained me." When he left Calcutta for Madras his health was far from satisfactory. He had to be accompained by his physician and friend, Dr. Nilratan Sircar. The following letter written to his wife from the steamer which was carrying him to Madras, and dated the 25th December, will show amid what anxieties of his friends he left Calcutia. He writes: "Just a line to tell you that we are now at the Sandheads, entering the Bay. and the wind and the weather and the sun—everything is so cheerful.....I got a little cold, but I am more afraid of Nilratan Babu's medications, I confess, than of this wee bit of the season's gift, and then my good Doctor has his police to keep me in surveillance, to warn me when he thinks I am speaking too much, or when I am to go down; so I must really, I think, ask the Subjects Committee of the Congress to propose a resolution against the despotism of our Doctors."

Even in such a state of health, he used to sit on the deck of the steamer till late at night and plan out a

sustained political propaganda in consultation with such friends as Messrs Surendra Nath Banerjea, Ambica Charan Mozumdar, Aswini Kumar Dutt, Bhupendra Nath Basu, Prithwis Chandra Roy and Dr. Nilratan Sircar. Fortunately, however, nothing untoward happened. The steamer, carrying Mr. Bose, however, was delayed about twenty-four hours on the way, and accordingly the sitting of the Congress had to be postponed for a day. It was not possible to make any further delay, and on his arrival on the 29th December he had to drive almost straight from the Breakwater Pier to the Congress Pandal. He was given a splendid reception on landing. A grand procession was formed on the beach, and marched towards the town. A band of music was in attendance, and there were nearly three hundred carriages. The streets, through which the procession passed, were decorated with flowers, evergreens and flags and triumphal arches. The whole town wore a festive appearance. Men and women dressed in their best holiday attire turned out in their thousands. The streets were crowded with spectators, and he was vociferously cheered as he passed in procession through the city. In many places his carriage was stopped and he was garlanded.

The session commenced at 1-30 P. M. amid great enthusiasm. When Mr. Bose's name was proposed, there was a loud outburst of applause. Mr. Ananda Charlu, in proposing him, said, that his was the most beneficent face to look at; his was a life which was a

model to every body; his was an eloquence which they would very soon hear and hear with admiration. Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, in seconding the proposal, said: "The Congress is the only assembly of the people of this country, and the President of the Congress is the uncrowned king of the people. But in calling upon Mr. Bose to assume this high position, we do greater honour to ourselves than to him. His is a life which, as my friend Mr. Ananda Charlu has said, every one of us ought to imitate." Noting briefly the important stages in his career, Mr. Mudholkar continued: "It was in England that his youthful career attracted the attention of a man whom we all revered and whom we have loved for years past, Professor Fawcett. At one time his earnestness, his zeal for truth, his reverence for those for whom he had regard, made such an impression upon Professor Fawcett that he said he was a man who was in time likely to achieve for himself a position like that of Mr. Gladstone in England. Those of you who attended the Congress of 1896 know his eloquence. You know what he was doing for us during the past twelve months in England. He has been active all round; he did not confine himself to political questions. Politics, education, social amelioration of the people in all their branches—have all claimed equal attention from him. The Bethune College for women in Calcutta and the City College for boys testify to his interest in educational work. He was one of those who extorted themselves in the cause of the Education Com-

mission appointed by Lord Ripon. Twice he was appointed to the Bengal Legislative Council, once he was nominated by the Government and at another time he was elected by the University of Calcutta."

Mr. Bose on rising, was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers from every part of the great assembly. Indeed, when he began to speak, nobody could have imagined that he was not in the best of health. The inspiration of the hour carried him through the great strain. He spoke for nearly two hours, brilliantly and splendidly, without reference to notes. The peroration, which was a fervent and eloquent exhortation to the assembly to love and work for Mother India, stirred the vast audience to its depths and, as the *Indian World* states in a recent notice of the Congress, moved the whole house to tears. Every word that was uttered told upon the hearts of the assembly, who were held spell-bound for over two hours. He forgot his weakness, he forgot himself. Such marvellous physical and intellectual resource has seldom been witnessed in India before. Mr. Bose's presidential address, the text of which we give in full in the appendix, stands unique, by its passionate patriotism and spiritual fervour, in the political literature of this country. But the print can give only a faint idea of the spoken words. They came from the inmost depths of a noble heart, throbbing with passion, sincerity and conviction. The *Madras Standard* of the next morning remarked: "Those who were not present at the Congress pandal last evening

could but inadequately realise the effect produced by the President's speech. No doubt every impartial reader of it will be impressed with its congency of reasoning, wealth of illustration, and beauty of style ; and Mr. Bose's critical analysis of the policy of the Government and his stirring appeals to the generous instincts of Englishmen are masterpieces in themselves. But no one who had not the privilege of hearing him last evening will be able to reconstruct from the printed text of the speech any living likeness of the address as an oratorical display. The spirit, the fire, and the inspiration cannot easily be realised. No printed sheet can sufficiently reproduce them. The speech was a magnificent oratorical triumph. The orator warmed to his subject as he proceeded, and the peroration was one of the noblest ever delivered by a native of India. He spoke for over two hours, and although to one who has not yet completely recovered from the effects of a recent serious illness it was a tremendous physical effort, the voice lost none of its purity and clearness. On the contrary, towards the close, it grew stronger and at the same time sweeter."

The address was received with universal approbation and admiration throughout the length and breadth of India. Even Anglo-Indian journals, which are hostile in their attitude to the Congress and captious in their criticism of its work and utterances, joined in the chorus of approbation. The fact was that with that inmate religious spirit of his, which pervaded his every

action and word, Mr. Bose transfigured the entire surroundings into a noble atmosphere, where all jarring notes were hushed into peace and concord. Without mincing matters in the least as to the grievances of India, and giving the freest expression to the feelings of indignation of the nation at the series of high-handed and retrograde measures of the Government, he could at the same time enlist the sympathy of even the supporters of that policy, and impress them with the conviction that these passionate utterances were based on a real wrong, and were the genuine out-burst of a keenly-felt grief, in the interest of the rulers as much as that of the ruled. Love and Righteousness were the key-note of the whole address. "There was a spirit of religious fervour," as a contemporary truly remarked, "which raised it above the level of dry political discussion, and no one we think can rise from its perusal without feeling inspired. Mr. Bose brought all his earnestness and sound judgment to bear on the principal topics of the day in which the Congress is interested, and he has handled them with a sobriety and sincerity which must command them the sympathy and respect of even those who have not a good word to say for the Congress."

The Congress of 1898 was a grand success. Mr. Bose succeeded in inspiring the whole assembly, delegates and visitors, with his own lofty spirit of patriotism. The proceedings ended with the happiest results. In rising to reply to a vote of thanks he was carried away by the

emotion of his heart, and made another speech, entirely extempore, which was considered by many as even superior to the opening address. The *Madras Standard* thus spoke of it: "It held the whole audience spell-bound for over an hour. It was a piece of sustained eloquence, breathing the spirit of true patriotism. Perhaps a more passionate, more eloquent, more stirring appeal to the best qualities of our being could not be made. Whatever else might be said of the fourteenth Madras Congress, there can be no doubt that its President sent home all Congressmen, and possibly many who are not Congressmen, with the sense of duty to their country roused, exalted, and purified." Another journal wrote: "The Congress was an unexpected success. The gravest misgivings had been expressed everywhere about it; but all these were falsified. No one has contributed so much to it as the wonderful personality of Mr. Bose. He said that their sympathy and love had made him feel stronger than ever. To Mr. Bose we owe it that this year's Congress was a distinctly religious assembly."

CHAPTER XII.

The Last Days.

With the beginning of the new year, Mr. Bose settled down in Calcutta to recommence the work which had been left off at the time of his departure for England. After a break of about a year and half, he returned to the old field with increased zeal and earnestness. But his friends noticed in him, with pain and concern, signs of a visible advance of age and infirmity; the strain of the last two years seemed to have been too much even for a man of his robust constitution. The breakdown at the meeting held in the Town Hall of Calcutta proved to be a serious warning of permanent disability and loss of vitality. His physicians warned him repeatedly that the only means of prolonging his life would be to take rest and avoid excitement. But he would not care to listen to them. Once more he plunged into the manifold labours of public life. In vain was he implored by friends to take care of his health. He would say that life would not be worth living if he could not serve his country. To him an existence of inaction seemed to appear worse than death. So he commenced the old routine of work, forgetting or ignoring the fact that his health was not what it had been. He had again to resume his legal practice, in order to meet the growing expenses of his large family. His labours in connection with political, educational and

religious movements continued unabated, if indeed they had not actually increased.

Owing to the prevalence of the plague in Calcutta, the number of students in the City College had gone down considerably, resulting in a large falling off in the income from fees and a corresponding deficit. The City College at this period became a source of much anxiety to him. In March 1899 he was again elected a member of the Bengal Legislative Council, this time by the municipalities of the Dacca Division. The work of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj also demanded considerable attention. On his return from England he was again elected its president. In spite of his failing health, he endeavoured to discharge the arduous duties of all these offices with his usual conscientiousness. For a time the spirit could coerce the flesh, but the inevitable breakdown could not be long postponed, and he had more than one relapse of the old malady.

By the beginning of 1903, it was apparent, even to himself, that his shattered constitution could no longer bear the strain of public life, and at the imperative command of his physician, Dr. Nilratan Sircar, Mr. Bose retired from active public life. Henceforth he was practically confined to his bed. But yet his colleagues and friends would come to him for advice and guidance at every important turn of events. Vainly did the members of his family try to isolate him from the excitement of public movements, which at this time were fast drawing towards a crisis. With a view to securing a greater

rest and quiet which the state of his health demanded, he was removed from Calcutta to his suburban residence at Dum-Dum. But even here it was not possible to isolate him from the rushing current of public life. People would flock here also for his counsel in the many complicated problems of the troubled times before them, and it became impossible to restrain him from taking a keen interest in the political developments of the day. It was pathetic as well as inspiring to see the veteran leader, like a disabled general, endeavouring to direct the current of public activity from his death-bed into such channels as might lead to certain victory. And never perhaps did Mr. A. M. Bose appear so great as when, from the shores of death, as it were, he contributed to the inauguration of a new era in the political struggle of the Indian people.

Three distinct stages, with distinct ideals and methods of work, may be traced in the political history of modern India. The first was the period of organised constitutional agitation, with its memorialising and its public meetings for the purpose of drawing the attention of the authorities, in India and England, to the grievances of India, in the hope of a remedy. Mr. A. M. Bose may be said to have been the pioneer of this method, in an organised and systematic form, and on a national scale. We have seen that on his return from England, in 1874, he founded the Indian Association and inaugurated a vigorous constitutional agitation for the recognition of the rights

and privileges of the people throughout the country, with all the hope and ardour of youth. Gradually it came to be felt that the most hopeful factor in the situation was the British House of Commons, and if this body could be made to take a living interest in Indian affairs, through the pressure of the constituencies which elected its members, there might be some chance of securing substantial redress of Indian wrongs. So the *venue* of the political campaign was shifted from India to England. Here again Mr. A. M. Bose was a pioneer of the new method. It was he who led the way, with that brilliant advocacy of which he was a master, before the bar of the British constituencies, which has encouraged others in more recent years to follow in his footsteps. Distinguished Indians before him had pleaded the cause of their country in England, but he undertook the work systematically for the first time and this made the grievances of India widely known amongst the people of that country. But unfortunately this failed to have the desired effect, at least not to the extent hoped for. Meanwhile political development in India marched at a rapid pace. The precipitate action taken by Lord Curzon in the matter of the partiton of Bengal, his cynical and contemptuous disregard of the unanimous public opinion and sentiment, and the stolid indefference of the authorities in England to a matter of such vital importance, filled the people of India with absolute despair. It was felt that agitation, whether in India or England, was of no

avail and that little heed was given to the prayers and petitions of the people. This cruel rebuff led to a revulsion against constitutional agitation, which now came to be described as 'the mendicant policy'. Despair of the British sense of justice led the people to look for national salvation in their own efforts; and so began another new era in the national life of India. Here again Mr. A. M. Bose played an important part. From his death-bed he wrote three letters to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, which will have a permanent place in the history of the political struggle of the Indian people when that comes to be written. He could no longer lead his countrymen in person, as in old days, in their struggle for political regeneration, but, with the insight of the true statesman, he found the lines along which the political endeavours of the nation should proceed, under the altered circumstances of the day, and these he set forth in these three successive letters. We can have nowhere a clearer indication of the vigour and independence of his mind than in the fact that he, the veteran pioneer of constitutional agitation in India, should at the close of his life warn the nation that agitation in England against partition would be useless. "Let those amongst us who wish to do so," he wrote on the 7th August, 1905, "proceed with agitation in England, against the already decided question of the partition of Bengal, though I for one—I may be mistaken—do not belive that any good will result from it in the existing state of affairs. The Conservatives are past

praying for, and the Liberals, when they come hereafter into power after the turmoil of a General Election, which will swallow up everything else, will probably plead the logic of 'accomplished fact' over an administrative question like this, as they have done before." Subsequent events have proved how accurate he was in his forecast. He had almost verbally anticipated the plea of the great radical statesman to whom the direction of Indian affairs was entrusted in the Liberal Ministry which followed after the General Election. Putting aside agitation in England, therefore, he advised his countrymen strenuously to strive to undo the evil effects of the blow thus given to the cause of national unity and progress. He suggested that the day when the partition would first come into operation should be observed throughout the whole of Bengal as a day of special and solemn mourning. "After that unhappy day let us observe at least one year as a period of general mourning, and during that time let us not join in any demonstration or gathering except such as may conduce directly to the national good or the good of the community." As to definite constructive action, he made the following fruitful suggestion: "Let us resolve, so far as may be done, by every means in our power to avoid all English goods, and to use those of Indian manufacture instead. Efforts should be made at the same time to make it posible to use Indian goods, by introducing manufactures and industries in our country." He took care to point out that this step should not be

taken in a spirit of hatred or ill-will towads England, but purely out of love for our own country. He wrote: "It ought perhaps to be noted that the object is not to injure Manchester or any English manufactures. Let their trade extend and expand, and they grant us national liberty as they granted physical liberty to slaves at one time. All that we aim at is to give resolute and earnest vent to our patriotic feeling, further our indigenous industries, and draw the attention of English people to our sad grievnances,—a sentiment with which all true Englishmen will sympathise." "We must drive all feelings of despair from our hearts, and, instead, be manly, patriotic, brave and God-inspired. If we are *men*, then from our present adversity shall issue measureless prosperity and joy. Let us remember that from the dark and threatening cloud descends the life-giving shower, that in the muddy 'parted' earth is planted the blessed seed which sustains our lives. Let us thank God that in the midst of our lethargy and spiritless life, he has sent us this source of energy and manly effort."

This letter, though anonymous, made a great impression. It was reproduced in all the leading papers, both Indian and Anglo-Indian. The suggestions were taken up enthusiastically by the people of Bengal. In a second letter, which appeared two days later, he indicated the method of worke in detail, and exhorted his countrymen to act strenuously. "Now that the great meeting has been so successfuly held," wrote Mr. Bose,

"and so many speeches delivered, let us come to our true work—earnest and resolute *action*—in the place of oration, however eloquent. That Bengalees can speak has been shown on a hundred platforms. Let them now show that they can *act*." About a month later, when the partition of Bengal was officially announced, Mr. Bose wrote a final letter advising his countrymen to confront the calamity in a firm and dignified spirit. "The blow has been stuck, and my humble and most earnest and strenuous appeal to my countrymen is not to be discouraged, not to lose heart in any degree. Nay, let them rather rejoice at this division of the province by the Government, and continue with redoubted vigour their agitation of the last three or four weeks. Lord Curzon has done us indeed a singal service and enabled us to lay the priceless foundation of a new national life, if we are only true to ourselves and carry on the work which we have begun. During these weeks we have read in the papers reports of meetings full of grim determination, of immense and unprecedented enthusiasm, of fiery and burning eloquence. The time has fully come when we must translate all this into action, and God helping, so translate *we shall*. Take this vow and resolve, my friends. If the bolt has fallen on us, let us not forget that the grace, grandeur and beauty of the Lord is as manifest in the thunder as it is in the gentle dew." In view of the police prosecutions of persons engaged in the agitation, which became very common about this time, he suggested that committees of pleaders and

barristers should be formed everywhere to defend, without fees, all who might be implicated in law-suits arising out of the partition. Above all, he advised the people to devote their energy primarily to the development of the industrial resources of the country. "Business,—industrial, manufacturing, and otherwise,—and not Government service from which we are in fact being driven away day by day, must be our hope in future. Let us remember that it cannot be by foreigners, but by ourselves, that our true salvation must be wrought."

These three letters were not, as Mr. Bose himself explained in the preface, regular letters, "written having regard to style and beauty of diction, but only some stray jottings dictated with some difficulty from a sick bed—an humble appeal to our leaders from a disabled and useless servant." The identity of the author could not be long kept secret. The suggestions contained in them became the guiding principles of the new epoch. Despair gave place to a new hope and faith; the whole nation became animated with the spirit of self-help. Various measures were taken in hand for the development of the economical resources of the country. To mark the birth of the new national life it was arranged to organise a grand demonstration on the 16th of October, 1905, the day on which the partition of Bengal was to take effect and when the foundation-stone of a National Hall was to be laid as symbol of the indissoluble union of the sundered sections of the province. Mr. Bose, as

the pioneer of the national movement in all its stages, was considered to be the fittest person to preside at this grand national function. But he was then confined to bed by reason of his severe illness. Though it was realised that any address from him was out of the question, yet his mere presence would be, it was felt, a stimulus and inspiration greater than the most eloquent speech could be. At noon on the 15th of October, accordingly, a deputation waited on him and requested him to preside at the laying of the foundation-stone of the Federation Hall on the following day. It was, no doubt, a startling request, but the gravity of the occasion and the earnestness of the people overcame the anxiety and reluctance of his family to let him undergo the great risk in the then state of his health. His medical attendants, who joined in the request, promised to be constantly at his side and to take all possible precautions. At the appointed hour he was carried in a chair from his bed to the open ground, only a few hundred yards off, which had been selected as the site for the proposed Federation Hall. His medical advisers walked one on each side of him and remained with him throughout the proceedings, feeling his pulse from time to time. His arrival at the grounds, barefooted, fasting, and in pure Indian garb, with numerous *rakhis* of saffron-thread tied round his wrist, was followed by a scene of the wildest enthusiasm. The meeting was attended by about 50,000 people, most of whom remained standing during the whole time. Mr. Bose, in spite of his weak health,

spoke a few stirring and inspiring words in Bengali, and then requested Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea to read a short speech, which in the course of the last few hours he had dictated from his bed. Mr. Banerjea accordingly read aloud Mr. Bose's speech to the vast audience, who listened to it with profound attention, cheering it at almost every sentence. Considering the circumstances under which it was written, it was a marvellous production. The full text of the address will be found in the Appendix. Mr. Bose blessed his Father in Heaven that he had lived to see a day that marked undoubtedly the birth of a Nation. "I come amongst you," said he, "as one almost risen from the dead, to see this moment of a national upheaval and of national awakening. Drawn from my sick bed, where I have been secluded from the world by serious illness for nearly a year, allow me to express my grateful thanks to you, for the great and signal privilege you have conferred upon me by associating me with yourselves on this great and historic occasion, which will live in the annals of Bengal, and mark an epoch in its history." The official separation, he observed, had drawn them closer together and made them stronger in united brotherhood. In spite of every other separation of creed, the creed of the common Motherland would bring them nearer, heart to heart and brother to brother. "And this Federation Hall, the foundation-stone of which is being laid to-day, not only on this spot of land, but on our sorrowful,

tearful hearts, is the embodiment and visible symbol of this spirit of union, the memorial to generations yet unborn of this unhappy day and of the unhappy policy which has attemped to separate us into two parts." To him the projected Federation Hall appeared as no sentimental bauble, but the centre of many fruitful national enterprises, and the focus of national enthusiasm and energy for untold generations. "It will, I trust, be a place for all our national gatherings. In its rooms will be held social reunions and meetings for different purposes. There will probably be gymnasiums, rooms for a library of reference, and of useful publications, and for newspapers, classes for the singing of national songs and for the recitation and cultivation of all that promotes a spirit of patriotism, of self-sacrifice and true culture ; accommodation too, I hope, will in time be provided for visitors from other parts of Bengal, and, it may be, of India. Those of you who have been to Amritsar have seen how in the Golden Temple there is throughout day and night the scene of worship, of holy reading and of holy associations. I hope, in the same way, this Hall will be a place where all that moulds and forms a growing nation, all that uplifts and regenerates the national character, and trains it up to manhood, and every noble impulse, shall always find their place, and to its shrine shall come, as for worship, every member of the Bengali nation. It will be a temple raised in honour of our common Motherland not only for national union but also for national progress." He

also hoped that the proposed Federation Hall, when completed, would materially help the industrial development of the country. "In this Hall, I believe, lectures will be delivered and discussions held on all subjects bearing on the commercial and industrial progress of this country. Its rooms will contain economic museums and samples of the commercial products of the land. It will be the rendezvous of all interested in this great cause of industrial progress, and will, in various other ways, promote those interests. In fact this Hall will, as it grows and expands, be the natural and the necessary home of the movement for the industrial advance of the country." Such was the grand conception of Federnation Hall which loomed before his imagination: and as he lay on his sick-bed during the remaining few months of his life he would try to indicate to the few intimate friends who were privileged to see him, in spite of the serious condition of his health, a more complete idea of the proposed national Hall as he had conceived it. But alas! the sands of life were fast running out, and he had not the satisfaction of seeing the cherished scheme of his last days make any progress towards realisation.

The shadow of death was already deepening upon him. Early in the year 1905 he had had a serious relapse of cerebral paralysis, and for days he seemed to be on the very brink of death. This had been brought about by an unwise exposure to mental strain. After long rest and careful nursing, he had felt himself considerably

improved and stronger. This made him think that he could join in the anniversary celebrations of the Brahmo Samaj, which were again drawing near. Over-riding the anxieties of his physicians and friends, he came to Calcutta and attended some of the meetings. On the 25th of January, the principal day of the anniversary, when invaribly the enthusiasm of the congregation rises to a high pitch, Mr. Bose came to the Prayer Hall at a very early hour and stayed to the end of the service, which lasted till 10 o'clock. This was, no doubt, too much for his health ; but he would not stop even here. He came to the Prayer Hall again for the evening service, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of his family. Immediately after his return home, he was seized with another fit. Though with prompt medical aid and careful nursing consciousness shortly revived, it was evident that only a slender thread now held him to life, and that this might be snapped at any moment. Several similar attacks, though less violent, followed. In the midst of such anxieties he poured out his soul, as has been finely said, "in that memorable swan-song,' of the 16th October 1905, and this was his last appearance before the public. After it, he sank gradually. The remaining few months glided away in the bosom of his family, in tender affection and gentle solicitude for all. Surroûnded by his wife aud children, and occasionally enlivened by the visits of close friends, he spent the last few months of his life in his favourite home at Dum-Dum. As the end drew near a divine glow seemed to spread

over his features and his nature was suffused with a tenderness and serenity unusual even to his sweet temper. He prepared himself carefully for the end. He took leave of all his friends. On the 25th July, he came to Calcutta, much against the wishes of his family. Previous to leaving Dum-Dum, he was carried in an arm-chair over the whole house and garden. He seemed to take leave of every tree and creeper. He asked to be taken under the shadow of his favourite mahogany tree, under which in his days of health he had been wont to spend hours in meditation. He spent a few minutes there alone, and then was put into the carriage, and drove to his Calcutta residence in Dhurrumtola Street. In doing this he again over-rode the wishes of his people, who, in view of his health, wanted him to live in the house of his brother-in-law, Dr. J. C. Bose, in order to be near him and other friends. But Mr. Bose insisted on going to his old home, where he had spent so many years of active life. On the 13th August however, he expressed a wish to be removed to the house of Dr. J. C. Bose, in Upper Circular Road, and was duly conveyed there. It was evident to every one from the moment of his arrival, that the end could not now be very far off. But the days passed in pleasant and affectionate intercourse with all about him. At noon on the following Sunday, he sank into deep unconsciousness, and all the members of the family were summoned to his bedside. He died at sunset on Monday, August 20th.

The mournful news spread immediately. In order to give an opportunity to his numerous admirers to have a last look at the beloved face, the funeral was deferred till the next morning. From an early hour, a continuous stream of people poured in. At 8 o'clock, Pandit Sivanath Sastri conducted the funeral service and then, in order to enable the vast concourse of people, for whom there was not sufficient accommodation in the house, to have a look at the deceased, the funeral bier was taken out and placed on the Federation Hall ground, decked with white flowers, where ten months before, he had made his last public appearance. At nine o'clock, the procession started for the burning-ghat, bare-footed, and singing hymns as it went. Halts were made, for prayer and recognition, before the churches of the Naba Bidhan and the Sadharan Bhahmo Samaj. At the last-named place, a very large number of friends had gathered. The bier was placed in the court of the Prayer Hall, and Pandit Sivanath Sastri offered a touching prayer from the steps. There was a moving scene at the burning-ghat. A large gathering, including many distinguished men, had assembled there, and stood round the funeral pyre, when Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, who had received the sad news at Barrackpore late at night, hurried to the spot, bare-footed. He stood a while before his dead friend, with clasped hands, and then, at the sight of the familiar face, now cold and still, he burst into tears. A scene of deep solemnity and profound silence followed. Finally, Pandit Sivanath

Sastri committed the body to the flames with prayer.

* * * * *

The news was received with sorrow throughout the country. References were made to it in the High Court, and other public places; and meetings were held in many towns. Letters and resolutions of condolence poured in upon the family, during the early days of its great bereavement. Amongst these, a few, whose significance was enhanced by their personal connection with the dead, may be mentioned. The resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj ran as follows: "Resolved that the Executive Committee of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj places on record its sense of the irreparable loss sustained by the entire Indian community in general and the Brahmo Somaj in particular, by the death of Mr. Ananda Mohun Bose, who was one of the founders of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and nursed it in its infancy; of whose devotion and life-long services to the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, words can hardly convey an adequate idea, and whose earnestness, wisdom, high character and piety have so largely helped to mould its life and further its progress. The name of the deceased will also be remembered as one of the leaders in the political, social, educational, and moral advancement of the people of India." At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian Association held after his death, the following resolution was adopted :--

"Resolved that this Committee desires to place on record its sense of the great loss which the Indian Association has sustained by the death of its President, Mr. A. M. Bose. He was connected with the Association from its birth up to the time of his death, first as Secretary and then as President. The ability, zeal, and self-sacrificing devotion with which he served the interests of the Association and the country at large entitled him to the lasting gratitude of his countrymen. His death is deplored by all sections of the Indian community and by none with deeper sorrow than by the members of the Association over whose deliberations he presided for more than ten years." The Secretary of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association of London communicated the following resolution: "The Council of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association has learned with regret of the death of Mr. A. M. Bose of Calcutta, and desires to place on record its high appreciation of the conspicuous services rendered by him in the promotion of liberal religion in India. His intellectual ability, his zeal, and above all his personal character, gave distinction to his leadership of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, and gained for him the admiration and respect of a large circle of friends in his native land, and also in this country where his visits were warmly welcomed. The members of the Council would tender to the theists of India their sympathy in the loss they have sustained, in the death of so brave and noble a leader; and to his widow and family in the great sorrow that has befallen their home."

Mr. Bose died in August. The Indian National Congress met in Calcutta in the following December. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, the President of the Reception Committee, in his opening adress made the following reference to Mr. Bose: "In the death of Ananda Mohan Bose, every one felt as if we had lost a personal friend, for he was of an eminently winning disposition, distinguished not less by his amiability than by the purity of his life. To deep spiritual fervour, he joined a lofty patriotism, working as ever in the great Task Master's eye. Indeed in Anand Mohan Bose patriotism grew to the height of a religion. And, it was this happy union of the religious and civic elements in his character that sustained him, when, with life fast ebbing away and with the valley of the shadow of death almost in sight. he poured out his soul in that memorable swan-song of the 16th of October, 1905, when a whole people plunged in gloom, assembled together in solemn protest against the ruthless dismemberment of their country."

"If," says Ciceró, "to his country a man gives all, he becomes entitled to what all money cannot buy,—the eternal love of his fellow-men." This is the exceeding great reward of every true patriot and no one can question Ananda Mohan's title to it.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Man

Great and manifold as were the services of Mr. A. M. Bose to his country, it was the example of his life which was his most precious gift to his country-men. This had a most valuable significance, a deep meaning for the present age. It was the most complete realisation of that new ideal which had been conceived by the Brahmo Samaj. India has long been known for her spirituality and religious depth, but this spirituality has too often run into the line of a morbid and unnatural asceticism, and indifference to the well-being of humanity. The traditional ideal of Indian piety is too apt to discountenance home and social duties. It is taught that these are not compatible with deeper spiritual life. Those who yearned after a deeper spiritual life, therefore, retired into forest-recesses and mountain caves, to spend their days and nights in deep contemplation, without being troubled by the sorrows and sufferings of their fellow-men. On the othar hand, the active social service and philanthropy of the west are not often associated with such spiritual and devotional fervour as those of India. The new ideal of the Brahmo Somaj seeks to combine the spirituality of the East with the practical philanthropy and social service of the West. Mr. Bose was the finest personal example of this new ideal. In his life we have a concrete refu-

tation of that very common fallacy that the life of the ordinary professional man of the present day is not compatible with the deeper spirituality. Choosing for himself a profession, which is, not without some reason, supposed to be the most slippery, living in the very centre of so many diverting and distracting movements, and in the bustle and tumult of a most exciting time, Mr. Bose lived the life of a saint and a *rishi*. He was a worker,—patriot, educationist, and organiser,—but above all this and in his inmost soul he was an Indian *Rishi*. Whatever he did, said or thought, emanated from a deep religious consciousness. To him politics, social reform, and educational enterprises were all part of his religion. Hence the beautiful harmony and all-roundness of his character. We have already seen that he was conspicuous amongst his contemporaries for that breadth of vision, that lofty moral ideal, that many-sided activity, which were the unique and unrivalled characteristics before him, of the great Prophet of Modern India. In these respects, Ananda Mohan Bose was the true descendant of Raja Ram Mohon Roy. To this many-sided sympathy and activity, moreover, he added a spiritual depth and a devotional fervour which make him the very ideal for modern India. His wonderful activity, his immense services,—in the political, social, eduacational and other spheres of the national life,—were but a very faint expression of the inner man. Great and unique as were his achievements, they alone would fail to give a true conception of the man. Those

who had the privilege of being acquainted with him personally know that he was much greater than all his works taken together. There was a beauty of holiness, a majesty and sweetness in him, which endeared him to all who came in contact with him. Wherever he went, to whatever work he applied himself, he carried with him a higher and purer atmosphere as it were. To him nothing was common or unclean. He saw everything in God and God in everything. Religion was the source and spring of his whole life.

It was from a sense of religious duty that he took up political work. It was this consciousness of a sacred duty which throbbed and found expression in every work that he did and every word that he spoke. The passage from the memorial sermon of the Archbishop of Canterbury on Mr. Gladstone, which he so effectively quoted in his Presidential Address to the Madras Congress, might be applied to himself, word for word. "In the use of all his gifts, there was ever the high purpose, ever the determination, to the utmost of his knowledge and power to obey the law of God." This conscious and cheerful submission to the divine will gave him hope and strength in the midst of all difficulties and disappointments. He saw the finger of God in the history of India that was unrolling before men's eyes. He firmly believed that the all wise God had a profound purpose in the present political situation of the country. Almost at the beginning of his Presidential address to the Indian National Congress.

he expressed this consciousness of a divine purpose. "As I rise to address you," he said," my thought goes back to that dear land with which it has pleased Providence in its kindness to link the destinies of this great and ancient country." This was not a formal or tactical time-serving assertion, but a deep settled conviction. All his demands for political rights were based on this recognition of a divine purpose in the connection of England with India. It was in the name of justice and righteousness that he appealed to the British nation, for the better administration of the great country whose welfare, 'in the inscrutable providence of God,' had been entrusted to them. And he called on his countrymen to do their duty by their country also in the name of the same justice and righteousness. "Do we hear, my friends," said he, "the trumpet-call of duty, resounding to us amid the stirring scenes, the moving enthusiasm, the thrilling sights of the great gathering? Yes! the call sounds clear, and let our hearts gather the strength to respond to that call, and to be true to her, our common Mother, the land of our birth, to be true and faithful to the light that is within us, and to every noble impulse that stirs within us". Politics to him was no godless scramble for self-interest. He never seperated the thought of his country from that of God. The two were indissolubly in his heart. "The German host," he said, "marched to its triumph, to the cry of God and Fatherland. Let our be a still dearer cry, the cry of God and Motherland!" as our mission

also is the holier enterprise of peace, of love, of loyal progress." Here we find that the distinction between religion and politics has altogather disappeared and the two have coalesced in one supreme, simple, all-absorbing consciousness of duty.

It was in the same spirit that he constructed his energies to the work of social reform. It came to him naturally as to so many others among his contemporaries. He could not neglect the work of social reform. He could not demand the justice and righteousness from foreign rules if in our homes we were denying justice to our own kith and kin, to our mothers, and sisters and daughters, and while we were trampling on humanity and righteousness in our own society. It was, therefore, that he threw himself with his whole heart in the work of social reform. The woes of the neglected womanhood of India, the cries of the widow, the wrongs of the down-trodden millions, pierced his heart and he made the cause of the weak and the helpless his own. With that transparent sincerity of his nature and heroism of soul, he at once broke through the fetters of caste which paralysed the progress of India for so many centuries, threw open the gates of zenana, sent the ladies of his household to schools even without a consciousness that he was doing anything heroic or extraordinary. His social reform was spontaneous, unconscious, irresistible, and the corollnary of his religious ideas.

We find the finest expression of the inner man,

however, in his private life. The spotless purity of his public life was only the blossom of a home-sweetness which could not be described. As son, husband, father, and friend, Mr. A. M. Bose was the very ideal. We have already seen what a reverent, dutiful and affectionate son he had been. His tenderness to his wife was exemplary; in the midst of the utmost pressure of work he never omitted to write to her regularly. Her health has always been delicate, and he spared neither expense nor trouble to make her happy and comfortable. He was a most affectionate father. When he was away from home he would write or send a message for every one of his children, even the youngest. He gave them the best possible education. He would supervise their studies personally. When the time came for his two eldest sons to be sent to England, he accompanied them there, though it meant much pecuniary loss and personal inconvenience. When his eldest daughter was to leave his home after her marriage, the strong man wept like a child. He was specially anxious about the religious training of his children. He was always careful that an atmosphere of devotion should pervade his home. He wrote to his wife, from Germany, where he had gone for his health; "I want you every morning at 7, and evening, or before retiring to bed, to pay for me; I often do it for you and the children; you no doubt do it also and it would add to our happiness to know and feel that we are both at the same time, and every day, morning and night, rising our hearts to God on

each other's behalf. And at least on one occasion in the day let the whole family join with you in worship and prayer."

Every important event in the family was an occasion for devout prayer and worship. The birth of a child drew forth in a special degree solemn supplication and thanks-giving; he would spend hours by the side of the cradle, with the doors shut, thanking God for this gift of new life, and asking His blessings on the new-comer, and strength and light for himself and his wife, to enable them to rear it up properly. He considered himself as the steward and trustee of the family under the providence of God. On every important occasion he would renew this sense of responsibility. He would never allow a new year to pass without making it an occasion for solemn thought and resolve. The following letter, written to his wife on the 1st of January, 1891, from Deoghur, where he had gone for a few days' rest and change, throws a flood of light on his inner life. He writes:—

"To-day is New Year's Day—a solemn day, if one thinks of it in the proper light, a beginning, in one sense, of a fresh chpater in the book of life. Both yesterday, when, sitting alone in the darkness of my chamber I bade adieu to the closing year 1890, and to-day, when the light, of a new year's sun has been pouring in from early morning, I have been thinking much; and I would like to communicate some of my thoughts to you, the God-given partner of my life, so far as the limited time at my disposal will permit."

"Looking back to the past, amid many rays of light which God has from time to time granted me, and for which in my unworthiness I offer the tribute of humble gratitude at His feet, I yet see much, very much, to make me sad and miserable. The memory arises in gloom and darkness of how I have neglected my opportunities, wasted my gifts, failed in my duties and yielded to weakness in a hundred directions: how, instead of progressing in the path of strength, purity and righteousness, I have often and often strayed from it and groped in the dark; of how instead of ever holding my heavenly Father by the hand and walking with Him, I have forsaken Him and been weak and miserable. And yet I cannot help thanking Him that, though I have forsaken him, He has not forsaken me, and often and often, in spite of my back-sildings, He has tried to pour comfort into my heart, and even now inspires me, amid my tears, with hopes for a better and brighter future. Will it ever be realised? He knows. Like a little child I must be content to leave my future in faith and trust in His hands."

"In my retrospect of the past, I have been thinking much of you too. I have thought of all the kindness and love and tenderness which I have received from you, in these twenty-three years and more that we have been partners in life. Accept my thanks for this precious gift. For this long period we have been walking up the steep of life hand-in-hand in the ordering of Providence, companions in joy and sorrow, and what tie could be

more sacred and more enduring than this companionship?"

"Accept again, my dear wife, all my gratitude for all your love and kindness. May the light of this love shine all the brighter in future! Help me in my struggles to be better, sustain my energies by sympathy and timely help, hold up my head when it droops, and under God be my strength in the straits of life. In woman's heart, when God shines on it, is a special lustre and special comfort. Throw yourself on Him, ascend by the steps of daily prayer and communion into His presence, to breathe the air and see the light of Heaven, obtain the unspeakable peace and joy and strength which flow from His countenance, and then indeed all petty troubles will be over, and all the bitterness and trials of life which now so distress and weigh upon our hearts, will vanish into utter insignificance. The heart will then melt, in love and gratitude towards the whole world, and all the crosses of daily existence will disappear, leaving nothing but happiness behind. May God grant you this grace, and make you, in my weakness, my guardian angel and comforter! Who is there in this wide world to sympathise with me and help me like you?"

"I have been spending most of this day in prayer and fasting. I like fasting when it does not torture or pain the body, and is directed towards a spiritual end."

Such thoughts and heart-searchings were very frequent with him. On the 23rd November, 1884, his birth

day, he writes: "With this Sunday begins not only a new week, but also a fresh chapter in my life. Oh God, Merciful Father! enable me to discharge my duties, to be energetic and faithful, to be strong against the pressure of adverse circumstances". On a Christmas day he writes: "Woke early and found my heart lifted up to God. Thought of Christ and the Gospel of Love which he preached, thought of the dominion which he had exercised over the hearts and consciences of men, and felt my heart strangely moved and raised to my Father in Heaven. Walked in the Veranda, the streamers flying gaily in front of the Chief Commissioner's steamer; read some chapters of the Bible; fervently prayed to my Father and committed my future with all its lights and shadows, with all its joys, if joys there be, and all its trials into His hands. Father! Thy will be done. This is the only prayer I venture to utter. Thy will be done! It seems as if I can almost cease sorrowing for myself, for my crushing misery, for the annihilation of all my hopes, for the final end of all my many and many struggles in lasting sin and lasting suffering, in my faith and confidence in Him. His will must be for the best, whatever it brings to me and for me. Often, during the day and night, felt as if my Father was near me. His name be blessed."

Such was his abiding God-consciousness, so profoundly intimate and living. He seemed indeed to live, move, and have his being in God. This affected his words, his movements, even his very countenance. There

was something about him which lifted one at once out of the frivolities and littlenesses of every-day life. Even the vain and light-hearted could not fail to be serious in his presence for the moment at least. He seemed to be constantly living in the eye of his Great Task-Master. Though he worked so much for his country, he would constantly reproach himself for not making the best use of his time. Indeed the responsibilities of life pressed too heavily upon him. He looked upon life and its opportunities as a trust from God, and was anxious lest he should be unworthy of that trust. A friend who knew him most intimately says that the most prominent feature in the character of Mr. A. M. Bose was his recognition of life as a trust. Though he had done so much for his country he would often deplore that he had not worked enough. In his last days this thought oppressed him very painfully ; he wept bitterly at the supposed failure of life. Throughout his life this sense of responsibility haunted him. He would carefully scrutinise the work of every day. Very frequently in his diary he noted that the day was not spent profitably. "Felt myself in the meshes of a net, as it were, not much absolute waste, and yet visits take up a good deal of time." "I feel that at least a day has been wasted." Such entries are most frequent in his extant diaries. No task-master could exercise such tyrannical supervision over his servant.

The secret of it was that he really and literally considered himself a servant of God. That was the name

by which he called himself, Once, in aid of the class for the training of Brahmo Missionaries, in connection with the Sadhanashram, Pandit Sivanath Sastri appealed for funds; an anonymous offer of Rs. 10 a month came with the instruction that it should be put down in the name of S. D. Month after month the amount came regularly, in registered letters with the simple inscription: 'From S. D.' Pandit Sastri tried much to find out the name of this unknown donor. I somehow was convinced that S. D. must be Mr. Bose, and suggested it to Pandit Sastri. He did not think I was right. Many months after this, in order to verify my guess, I boldly asked Mr. Bose for the monthly contribution of S. D. He was surprised at this, and asked how I came to know that he was S. D. I now felt sure that my guess was right, and said that in a mysterious way I had spotted him to be the anonymous donor. He asked me how I accounted for the letters S. D. I made another happy guess, and said that I interpreted them as the initials of *Servitus Dei.* He was surprised, and said that I had discovered one of his deepest secrets. The two letters really stood for *Servitus Dei*, in which capacity he liked to describe himself. Many months after his death, I found in his bed-room on the mantle-piece an old card of the Sangat, a society organised by the Brahmo Samaj for individual spiritual culture. I can not find out the date when he signed it. It must have belonged to the early days of his connection with the Brahmo Samaj, when the Sangat was a flourishing institution. If

that be so, he had preserved and kept it constantly before his eyes for many years. On this card was written in his own hand-writing : "A servant of God has his distinctive features, which mark him out from others. He is sweet, he emits sweet fragrance, he speaks sweet music, his company is sweet, soothing, fascinating." When I read this, I felt that I had come upon the secret of his character.

It was this ideal of the servant of God which he strove, and strove so successfully, to live. It revealed to me the genesis of that peculiar sweetness which pervaded him. He walked gently, he spoke gently, his very gestures were soothing and fascinating. He was scarcely ever heard to utter a rude or rough word. Even to menial servants he spoke in his own peculiarly gentle tone. A friend once said, "Mr. Bose never speaks without pouring out honey." Mr. Bose was really sweet ; he emitted sweet fragrance ; he spoke sweet music; his company was sweet, soothing and fascinating.

A gentler and humbler person one could scarcely imagine. That strong heroic figure, which would breathe fire when occasions required, in speaking from the platform, seemed like a lamb in the home and in the company of his friends. His voice, which used to thrill vast audiences, would scarcely rise above a whisper in ordinary conversation. One would wonder by what life-long endeavour he had acquired that peculiar gentleness of manner. Always and to every one he was gentle, affable, and obliging. There was not the slightest touch of self-

consciousness about him. He was the very ideal of humility. He bore his greatness with the utmost simplicity and naturalness. And one could go and speak to him with complete freedom. There was no kind of fuss about him; rather he always strove to conceal himself. Foremost in the hour of battle, ever ready to bear his share of the burden, it was abhorrent to his nature to push himself forward to public gaze or honour. It was, therefore, perhaps that it took so long a time for his countrymen outside Bengal to recognise him. He went on doing his duty, and never for a moment thought of any honour or recognition. A more complete and beautiful example of self-effacement in public life has not been known in India for a long time.

Great as was his intellect he was even greater in his heart. Such tender affection is rare in man. The news of any one's sorrow or suffering would bring tears into his eyes. The death of his two brothers appreciably shortened his life. On receiving the news of the death of Mr. Monomohan Ghose, Bar-at-Law, he thus wrote to his wife:- "The news of the death of Mr. Ghose reaches me as a thunder-bolt from a clear sky. God help him, and bless and comfort the widow and the orphans left behind! It is on occasions like these that man turns away from all that is of the world—for the world seems dark and cold and of no help in the extremity of his distress—and finds light and strength only if the light that is not of this world shine upon him, and the pitiful Father of the world comes to him

as to a child. The saint and wise man has said that in the midst of life we are in death. But to us, who are blinded by the glare of this earth, it is only occasions like these that enable us to realize this sad and solemn truth."

With a kind heart, he joined an ever-ready hand. His sympathy was practical. To every good cause he gave liberal help. Besides the service he personally rendered to the many movements, religious, political, and educational with which he was associated, he contributed an immense amount of money to them. His subscriptions to the Brahmo Samaj, the Indian Association, the Banga Mahila Vidyalaya, and other institutions taken together would make a fortune. He had a most generous and liberal heart. Eeven as a student he used to spend a considerable amount of money in charity. But in his charity he used to follow the divine precept, "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." Most of his gifts were anonymous. He did not give for the applause of men, but for the love of God. The nature of his charity will be understood from the following little incident which happened while he was staying temporarily at the Giridhi Dak Bungalow. He writes in his diary (3rd January, 1892): "was glad to get the blessings of a decrepit old woman who came to be, and to whom I gave one rupee. Oh! her transport of joy at this gift, at which she burst into tears. She is blind or nearly so, living alone and deserted. Her son, she said, has gone away to 'Bilat.' How

short-sighted we are, and don't realise how much happiness we can often give by what is hardly any sacrifice to us !" The blessing of the poor old woman was more precious to him than the eloquent eulogy of a Governor-General in the official Gazette.

The secret of all this was his religion, His life indeed was altogether the outcome and external manifestation of a soul consecrated to the service of God. No epithet expresses his character so well as that he was a *modern rishi*, one who lived and moved and had his being in the constant consciousness of God ; one who lived every moment of his life before his Task-Master's eyes, one who had consecrated his body, mind, and soul to the service of the Lord. Mr. A. M. Bose was a rishi of the old type, transplanted to the new surroundings and new circumstances of the nineteenth century. Work and worship came equally naturally to him. He could and did spend hours in rapt prayer and meditation, as he could and did labour incessantly for hours together in most strenuous and absorbing work. But of the two, worship was pehaps the more congenial to him. His was an intensely devotional nature. While in England, he would often turn away from the bustle and tumult of the city into some solitary place of worship of the Quakers, and there spend hours in silent meditation. Once, after such an exercise, he exclaimed to a friend who accompanied him, 'Oh ! how refreshing'. Frequently he snatched himself away from work and society. and spent weeks alone in some place on the

hills, fasting and praying. These occasions he turned into seasons of rishi-like *tapasya*. He would often fast or live upon fruit and milk, when not actually fasting. We have seen how he writes to his wife: "I like fasting when it does not torture or pain the body, and is directed towards a spiritual end." Mr. Bose was by nature and temperament on ascetic. He preferred the company of poor and simple spiritually-minded men to the honour and pomp of any court. He delighted in the name of God. A sincere prayer or a devout hymn would bring tears into his eyes. Though he could seldom be persuaded to offer prayers in public, in his study he would spend hours in prayer and meditation. Often, with his hands folded behind him, he would walk up and down for hours in his study. If, reading a book or a newspaper, he came across some pregnant or devout sentence, he would shut his eyes and continue in that posture for a long time. The outside world knew Mr. A. M. Bose as a worker, a patriot, an educationist and a reformer, but in his inmost nature he was a saint and a *rishi*.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS BY MR. A. M. BOSE

AT THE FOURTEENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Held at Madras, December, 1898

Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—When the heart is full, fewest and simplest words are the best. Let me, therefore, only say I thank you most sincerely for the honour you have done me by electing me as your President—one so unworthy of the honour, so conscious of his deficiencies. Permit me to ask for your good wishes that I may not wholly fail to discharge the arduous duties to which your voice has called me, that, still not fully recovered from the effects of a recent illness, strength may be given me to be not wholly inadequate to the responsibilities that devolve on me. It is to your kindness and your sympathy, that I look for that help which I need to enable me to preside over your deliberations in the Session now opening before us, and I am sure I do not ask for this in vain.

MR. GLADSTONE

Brother-Delegates, as I rise to address you, my thought goes to that dear land, with which it has pleased Providence in its kindness to link the destinies of this great and ancient country. Ladies and Gentlemen, this I believe is the first meeting of the Congress, since its birth, from which no message of congratulation on his

returning birthday will go to the great Englishman—the greatest of his age—whose earthly career came to its end on the Ascension Day of the year now about to close. On every 28th of December, as it came back, it was the privilege of the President of the Indian National Congress to ask for your authority—and the authority was given with glad enthusiasm—to send a telegram of felicitation to Mr. Gladstone. That privilege will not be mine. That duty henceforth will remain unperformed. The saintly statesman to whom—as to Savonarola of old, the fourth centenary of whose martyrdom falls too on this year—politics was a part of his religion; the Christian warrior who fought the fight of freedom for England, and not for England alone; whom Bulgaria and Greece, Whom Armenia and Italy, yea, even distant India, mourns no less than his own country; the friend of the weak and the helpless in whatever tongues their wails might be uttered; the "bravest of the brave" in every good cause, however hopeless, as Lord Rosebery described him in the oration in the House of Lords which will live, has gone to his rest amid the tears of a united nation. Never was the strife of parties so hushed, the deepest love of the country so drawn, its noblest feelings so stirred, as when that great soul departed this life. 'In the use of all his gifts," said the Archbishop of Canterbury at St. Paul's, "there was ever the high purpose, ever the determination, to the utmost of his knowledge and power, to obey the law of God". It was my privilege to visit in humble reverence the room in Liverpool where Mr. Gladstone first saw the light. I lived for a few days opposite to that room as the guest of one of the dearest friends I made in England. It was my privilege to stand beside his grave in the Abbey, which is the last resting place of the greatest of that land, and to take part with Englishmen of all parties in many demonstrations in his honour. And if it is not my privilege to-day standing in this

place, to send any earthly wire to Mr. Gladstone, let us all in this great gathering—the greatest and the highest that educated India knows—with bowed heads, take to hearts his great memory, cherish with affection the lessons of his noble life, and send our spirit's greetings of love and reverence to him in that world which he has now entered, and where perchance affection's messages are not wholly lost.

THE NEW VICEROY

Ladies and Gentlemen, I should have liked to dwell on some of the lessons of that life—lessons of special import to us, and not to us only, but to those also in whose hands God has entrusted the government of this country, and the fate for weal or woe of its vast population. But from the great Englishman who has passed away, let us turn to another Englishman—the greatest by virtue of his position during his stay amongst us, the august representative of our Beloved Sovereign—who to-morrow will land on India's shores. I am sure, Brother-Delegates, I give expression to your unanimous feeling when, on your behalf, I tender our cordial welcome to Lord Curzon. There is no higher wish I can express for him than that when the time comes for him to step down from his exalted office, he may carry with him, from the people of this country, some portion of that blessing and that love which have followed Mr. Gladstone on quitting the scene of his earthly labours from many nations and many lands, that he may find a place in their hearts by the justice and the righteousness of his rule, and reign there when the external emblems and pomp of power—how temporary after all—will have been laid aside. I know of no higher or more unique responsibility than that which appertains to the office of the Viceroy of India, called upon to bear the burden of guiding the destinies for happiness or misery of nearly three hundred millions

of fellow-beings in a distant and an unfamiliar land—a responsibility which might tax the energies and try the powers of the most gifted and the most capable of men, which requires for its fulfilment the highest qualities not only of the head, but also of the heart; the precious gift of sympathy with those who have no vote or voice, the divine gift of the insight of the spirit which can see, can enter into and realise, the feelings of an unfamiliar people, no less than the cool head and the sober informed judgment, the administrative skill and the ripe experience. His Lordship's recent utterances fill us with hope. To exhibit British power inspired by the ideal of Christ, based therefore, may we not say, on the Law of Love and the Golden Rule, to treat the men of the East, as if they were of like composition with the men of the West, to be fired with sympathy wiih all races, creeds and classes of Her Majesty's subjects, is indeed a basis of statesmanship and a standard of success worthy of the high office to which His Lordship has been called. May He Who is the Common Father of us all, and to Whom all nations are as one, give to our coming Viceroy strength and guidance and grace to carry out this ideal and fulfil these hopes! To Lord Curzon will fall the honour of carrying for the first time British administration of a United India to a New Century. May that Century open in sunshine and brightness and hope, free from the shadows which linger over the land not only from the calamities of nature, but also from the weaknesses of man!

AN ERA OF DOMESTIC REFORM

The new Viceroy will take charge of affairs at a time not devoid of anxiety. I will not refer here to questions of Frontier Policy. They have been discussed during the year both in England and India. Lord Curzon has been credited with "advanced" views on the Frontier question. But as the result of that discussion by the

light of further experience since the statesmanlike policy of Lord Lawrence and the distinguished men who followed him has been reversed, and on a nearer study of the financial and other urgent and pressing needs of the Empire entrusted to his care, all India, irrespective of creed or nationality, ventures earnestly to hope that His Lordship will direct his great capacity and his great energy to initiating an era of domestic reform, of educational progress and industrial development, and leave a contented, prosperous and progressive India with its countless millions, as the best bulwark and the strongest defence, yea, as an *Invulnerable* barrier, against any foreign foe who may be misguided enough to assail India's peace or threaten India's frontier.

A VITAL PROBLEM

But if I will not in this Address discuss questions of External Policy, as such, and except in their relation to questions of domestic progress, let me refer to an unhappy, and if not checked, even disastrous tendency which has within the last few years manifested itself in regard to questions of Internal Policy, and which deserves far more attention than it has yet received. So vitally important to the welfare of India and to the honour and interest of England do I consider this matter to be so essential to the clearing of misapprehensions and to mutual understanding, to the restoration and growth of that feeling of sympathy, love and confidence between the rulers and the ruled, which is the necessary basis of good government, that with your permission, Brother-Delegates, I shall make this my main theme to-day, and devote the principal part of the time at my disposal to an examination of the facts which shew the existence of this tendency and its vigorous growth, of the consequence of its existence, of its remedy, and some subjects intimately connected with it. In the present crisis I feel, and I am sure you will agree with me, we cannot at-

tempt to do a greater service, alike to the Government and to the people, greater service to the cause of good administration, than to draw prominent attention to this important problem.

THE DARK TIDE OF RE-ACTION

Ladies and Gentlemen, it has sometimes been a question in the past, as no doubt it will sometimes be in the future, as to the *rate* of progress in the concession of the elementary rights of citizenship to the people of this country. But slow and cautious, to many thoughtful minds even too tardy, as the advance has been, an advance once made has never been retracted, a concession to freedom once granted has never been withdrawn, progress and not retrogression, growing confidence and not unworthy re-action, nearer approach and not wider separation, attempt at fulfilment of pledges solemnly and sacredly given and not their practical cancellation, has been so long the usual order of things in the British administration of this country. This is the foundation on which all the best statesmen of the past, all the noblest Englishmen whose privilege it has been to take part in the government of the country, and of whose memory England is proud to-day, have built up the splendid fabric of the Indian Empire. Once indeed, exactly twenty years ago, a reactionary piece of legislation found its way into the Statute Book. I refer, I need hardly say, to the Vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton. But the potent voice of the great English people made itself heard, and it was not allowed long to stay there. It was soon withdrawn, and the speedy reversal of that retrograde legislation served only still more to emphasize and to confirm the permanent policy of steady advance to which I have referred, a policy so worthy of the honour, of the glorious traditions and the best interests of the country with which Providence has linked our fate. Some of us fought in the dark days

of that happy temporary period of re-action; and I vividly remember the perils and the difficulties amid which we fought. Let me ask you, Brother-Delegates, to take to heart the augury afforded by the reversal, and to feel assured that if only we are earnest, if only we do our duty and labour on and faint not, the innate sense of justice of the British people will not long allow the far darker tide of the present day to roll on.

I have charged the Government with reaction, with reversing the wise and beneficent policy of the past. I confess it is a heavy indictment to bring, I should be happy indeed—none happier—if I could think or find that I am mistaken in the view I have taken. Ladies and Gentlemen, I cannot shut out from my view stubborn facts which crowd arund me. Let me place before you a few of those facts—they are only a sample—taken from the history of the last two years, in proof of this charge, which it is no pleasure, but deep pain to bring.

RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SERVICE

The first perhaps in point of time is what is euphemistically known as the "Re-organization of the Educational Services in India," contained in the Resolution of the Government of India in the Home Department, dated the 23rd July 1896, but which came into effect later on. I cannot enter into the details of the matter, but let me briefty present the salient features of the situation. The dates I shall give relate to Bengal. Probably the same dates apply to the other Provinces also. There are three stages in the history of this matter shewing the course of the backward march. The first was when the higher Educational Service of the country was organized and the Graded System introduced, now a little more than thirty years ago. The gracious promises and the noble word of Her Majesty the Queen on the assumption of the direct Government of India, which will ever live in our hearts and will

form the charter of our rights, were then fresh in the people's minds and had not been forgotten; and to the *highest* grades of that Educational Service, natives of India were then admitted on exactly the same footing as English fellow-subjects. There was no difference either in position or in pay based on race or nationality, but merit had an equal recognition in whomsoever of the Queen's subjects, Indian or English, it was found. This policy of the "Open Door" was not merely on paper and in profession, but was invariably carried out, a great many natives of India actually rising to the highest and other grades in the Service, and receiving the same pay as their English brethren in those grades. Then came the second stage. This in Bengal was about twenty years ago. The highest appointments in the Education Depertment still remained, as of old, freely open to the natives of India, but it was ruled that they were to receive only two-thirds of the pay of their English colleagus doing the same work. And now in 1896 came the last stage of all. The status of Indian members in the higher ranks was still further lowered, their pay was still further reduced from two-thirds to virtually one-half of their English colleagues; and sadder still, they were now, for the first time, excluded from certain of the higher appointments in the Department. In Bengal, for instance, Principalships of five of the leading Colleges, besides several other appointments, are henceforth to be reserved for members of what is to be known as the "Indian Service," so called apparently because under the new scheme there are practically to be no Indians in that Service. There is the world "usuall" in the sentence which restricts natives of India to the Provincial Service; but, as we know, in spite of every effort and repeated application, no Indian has yet been appointed by the Secretary of State in England. Natives of India, educated in the highest Universities of England, possessing the same or even much higher

qualification than their English colleagues, of the same standing and doing the same work with them, are to get half or less than half of the pay of the latter, are to be excluded from the higher positions open to the latter, and may have to serve as their subordinates. I ask you, Brother-Delegates, is a *new* barrier now to be erected against the people of this country? Is a *new* policy of reservation and exclusion, based on considerations of race and colour, to be now inaugurated in India after years of Her Gracious Majesty's beneficent reign? Is the stream of liberty for the people of India, and of their rights, to be a broadening, widening, deepening stream, or is it to be a narrowing, dwindling, vanishing channel, like some sacred rivers of old lost in the sands? Is this the way in which effect is to be given to the gracious words of our Noble Queen promising equal and impartial treatment for all classes of her subjects, to the solemn pledge of the British Parliament, and the repeated assurances of our Bulers? The worst of it is that so far as we can judge from the Resolution—and it is a lengthy document—this aspect of the qeuestion does not appear to have been even considered by the Government of India. To tell you the truth, I would give a great deal to have the opportunity of a face-to-face discussion with the authors of the Scheme, so indefensible is the measure, and so strong are the facts of the case. May we not hope that Lord Curzon will some day find time to look into the matter for himself, and redress the wrong that has been perpetrated?

EXCLUSION FROM ROORKEE

My next sample will also relate to matters educational. I purposely select them, for they, at any rate, cannot have any mysterious political reasons to influence their decision.

Will it be believed—distinguished Anglo-Indian gentleman before whom I mentioned it in England

would *not* believe it—that the privilege of admission to the Engineering Class at Roorkee, the most important and advanced in India, and of competition for its appointment, which was freely open to all Statutory Natives of India till the year 1896, is no longer so open ? From the year which of all others ought to have been the gladdest of years to us—the year to which we had looked forward with longing hope for fresh privileges and aded rights—the year of Her Gracious Majesty's Diamond Jubilee—from that year this privilege has been withdrawn from "Natives of pure Asiatic descent whose parents or guardians are domiciled in Bengal, Madras and Bombay." I cannot congratulate the Government on this further carrying out of the policy of exclusion, of the policy of creating new barriers, of the shutting in of the "Open Door." But it seems there is to be wheel within wheel, exception within exception. It is only the pure Natives of India of the Provinces named who are to be shut out. Children of European or Eurasian parents, or even of Hottentots and Negroes, settled and domiciled in those Provinces may enjoy all the privileges as of old. They will continue to have the appointments from the Roorkee College still open to them, to have the advantage of selecting whichever Engineering College in India they like for their education. It is no wonder perhaps that I should have heard some very unworthy motives ascribed for a proceeding so extraordinary as this. I will not repeat them, I cannot and will not believe them. But allow me to point out that here, before our very eyes, is the creation of a new disqualification founded on consideration of race. If this is not a reversal of policy of the past, which recognized no distinction of race, colour or creed, at any rate at Roorkee, will any of our Anglo-Indian friends kindly tell us what reversal means, and if this is not going backward, then what the definition of that process may be ? May we

respectfully ask how long is this process to continue? Is a ukase to issue shutting, say the doors of the Presidency College or the University at Calcutta against the people of the N. W. Province or the Punjab, against the students of Madras or of Bombay, on the ground that they have Universities of their own? Or why confine ourselves to India? I could sooner imagine my sinking to the bowels of the earth than of my own University of Cambridge, or of my own College of Chrirst's with its bright memories of kindness which I can never forget, shutting its doors or refusing its prize to natives of India, even though they be guilty of the crime of being of "pure Asiatic descent." The Bombay Presidency Associotion, the Indian Association of Calcutta, and I believe other Associations sent Memorials to the Government of India against this exclusion, rendered not more palatable or more justifiable by reason of its grossly invidious character; but to no avail. The Government see no reason, the memorialists are informed only in July last "at present to re-open the matter." May we be permitted to think that in the words "at present" there is some door yet left for hope?

IMPRISONMENT IN BRITISH INDIA WITHOUT TRIAL

Let me now come to the matter of brothers Natu, two prominent citizens of Poona, imprisoned without trail, detained in jail without charge, without even any knowledge on their part as to what they were suspected of having done in spite of repeated requests for such information, denied all access to their legal advisers, never taken before a Judge or a Court, deprived of their liberty for an indefinite period depending on the pleasure of the authorities, and all this by virtue of an administrative or executive order. Is it necessary to point out that imprisonment without trial is repugnant to the most elementary principles of British Justice? Into the melan-

choly history of the shifting accounts which were allowed to leak out as to what these unfortunate people were suspected to have done, it is not necessary for me to enter into any detail. Suffice it to say that we were first told, on high authority, that of the Secretary of State for India himself, that the result of their arrest would be to unraval a plot. Nearly eighteen months have passed since then. May we ask if that plot in which the Natus were concerned has yet been unravelled, and what the particular plot was? We have not the slightest sympathy with them if they have done anything wrong. But the plot theory by the stern logic of facts had soon to be given up. We were then told, on the same high authority, that one or both of the Natus, it is not quite clear which was meant, had been guilty of playing some "Tricks". He or they had threatened a midwife by writing a letter to her, and had attempted to corrupt or pervert a Policeman. The most diligent inquiry has hitherto failed to elicit any information as to who this threatened midwife and this incorruptible Policeman could be, or anything as to this mysterious letter and its writing. Is it necessary to mention the famous Pigott case to show the danger of an *ex parte* investigation—if indeed there has deen *any* investigation at all in the present case—even when it is conducted with the highest skill and the gaeatest sense of responsibility? What the next version of this affair may be we cannot yet say. If indeed no trial could be held, if indeed there be no provision for these "tricks" in our Penal Code, the most drastic in the world, the most easily changeable at the will, and to suit the will of the authorities, as we know to our cost, is there any reason why there could not at least be a departmental inquiry in the presence of the unhappy victims of this arbitrary order, in which they could be told of their offence, confronted with their now anonymous accusers, and asked for their defence? Englishmen point, and

justly point, the finger of scorn at Russia for her arrests by administrative order and detentions without trial. I presume these are authorised by the laws of that land. All England, irrespective of party or class, yea, the whole civilized world outside France, has denounced in the strongest terms the condemnation of Dreyfus; because though he knew what the charges were which he had to meet, though he was put on his trial and defended by counsel, though witnesses against him were examined in his presence and cross-examined by that counsel, though he had every opportunity to put forward his defence, yet there was *one* document shewn to his Judge who condemned him which was not shewn to him or his advocate—and that on the ground that the divulging of that document was fraught, in the opinion of the responsible Ministers of France, with grave political danger to the country, involving the risk of war with a neighbouring Power. I will not pause, Ladies and Gentlemen, to compare, to present in sad and melancholy contrast, the circumstances of that case which has been so universally denounced by all Englishmen, with the circumstances of the case of the Natus.

It may be said, I have heard it said, that after all it is a question affecting two men out of the many millions of India, with regard to whom Government may possibly have made a mistake; and this need not have any very disturbing effect. Are they who say this aware; is the Government aware, of the sense of insecurity, of the breach in that feeling of absolute confidence in the majesty of law and the security of person which is the greatest glory and the noblest bulwark of British Rule, yea, of the unmanning and even terrorizing influence over many minds, produced by these proceedings? Whose turn will come next on whom and at what moment may this sword of Damocles suddenly fall, is a question which has been asked by many amongst not the least notable of our land. I am glad, however, Ladies

and Gentlemen, to inform you that the humble individual who is now addressing you has an nnknown Lancashire workingman protector for himself. I may tell you the little story.

The incident may interest you, as it interested and even touched me at the time. At the conclusion of a meeting, I think it was at Oldham, in which I had taken part, several of the audience came up to speak to me; and I happened to mention that should it please the Government so to act, which I trusted it would not, there was nothing to prevent their dealing with me on my return to India as they had delt with the Natus. I shall not easily forget the scene that followed. One of my hearers, a working-man I believe, with indignation and excitement depicted on his face, told me—We know you, Sir. Should the Government treat you in this way, Lancashire men will know the reason why. I am sorry to say, Ladies and Gentlemen, I forgot to ask his name, or to note down his address. But, as I told him, I trust his interference on my behalf will not be needed.

THE NEW LAW OF SEDITION

I shall not dwell on the next sample I have to present of the re-actionary policy of the last two years--the recent amendments in the Law of Sedition and in the Criminal Procedure Code. These will, no doubt. form the subject of a specific Resolution to be submitted at the Congress. Let me only observe in passing that to make more Draconian a law which in every case in which it had been tried of late had proved only too effective, and to class speakers on public platforms and editors of papers with rogues and vagabonds and notorious bad characters who are liable to be called upon to furnish security for good behaviour. and to be sent in default to jail, is not the part of wisdom or statesmanship; that to *add* to the Judicial powers of the Executive officers of the Government.

instead of curtailing and withdrawing them, is sinning against the light, is proceeding against a principle which had obtained the fullest recognition in the highest quarters, including the two last Secretaries of State for India, Lord Kimberley and Lord Cross. Cases of alleged sedition which were so long triable only by a purely Judicial officer with the help of Jury or Assessors, may now, for the first time in the history of British India, be tried by the District Magistrate who is the head of the Police, and Head Executive or Administrative officer of the Government in the District, and that too without such help. Is it any wonder that a measure whose character I have but briefly indicated above has met with an amount of opposition, irrespective of race or party, in India and out of India—and perhaps in this connection I may be permitted specially to mention the name of Mr. Maclean, the Conservative Member for Cardiff,—which is absolutely unique in the history of Indian Legislation?

OTHER RE-ACTIONARY MEASURES.

Brother-Delegates, I might go on with the story of reaction—it has been a plenteous crop in these two years—but I will not do so. I will not dwell on the story of the imposition of a Punitive Police Force on a whole city, impoverished and plague-striken, for the guilt of one or two men; of the series of Press Prosecutions; of the institution of that new thing in India known I believe as Press Committees, and whose history our friend Mr. Chambers whom we welcome here to-day, so eloquently told before many English audiences; of the numerous repressive and retrograde provisions, euphemistically called amendments, introduced in recent legislative enactments, and of many other matters which will readily occur to your minds.

THE MUNICIPAL BILL

But permit me to take up a little of your time by referring to a measure of retrogression which is still on

the legislative anvil, I mean the Calcutta Municipal Bill. I do so to illustrate how the tide of re-action of which I have spoken is still flowing, and I do so because though this is a local measure, if it is carried, if the metropolis of India is deprived of the power of Local Self-Government which it has enjoyed so long and with such marked success, a precedent will have been created —and a blow will have been struck at a cause on which rest all hopes of India's future progress—the effects of which will be felt far and wide. The privilege of Municipal Self-Government, of control by the rate-payers over Municipal administration through their elected representatives, which Calcutta now enjoy and has enjoyed for more than twenty years, was granted under Conservative auspices. Sir Richard Temple—a name remembered with gratitude in Bengal—who was our ruler then, and who resigned a Governorship to become a Conservative Member of Parliament was its author, and the present Prime Minister of England was Secretary of State for India at the time. The great and numerous improvements carried out by the Corporation, and the zeal and devotion of the Commissioners, have been acknowledged by the Government time after time in official Resolutions, and in other ways. If there are any insanitary conditions, there is the amplest power in the hands of the Government under the existing law, and expressly introduced in that behalf, to cause their removal. And yet it is now proposed to make a radical and a revolutionary change in the law, to deprive the Corporation of almost every real power, and to vest it in a Chairman, who is an official and a nominee of the Government, and a Committee in which the ratepayers will be represented by a mere third of its members. I venture to hope that the popular and esteemed ruler of Bengal, who is not responsible for the introduction of the present Bill, will yet see his way at least to largely modify, if not to withdraw, this revolutionary proposal

and not allow his name to be associated with a scheme which makes not for progress, but for retrogression, which will undo the work of the past, fatally arrest the hopeful and promising growth of civic life, destroy the very principle of Local Self-Government, seriously weaken and impair the cause of Municipal Administration, and leave memories of bitterness for all time behind. And may I not in this connection make a very special appeal to our coming Viceroy ? He comes out to India as the representative of an administration whose most glorious and memorable achievement—an achievement which will live in the golden pages of history and shed lustre on that Administration—has been the granting of Local Self-Government to the people of Ireland granting it amid many difficulties and against much opposition, and at the very time when faction fights and armed conflicts were going on in the streets of Belfast. And indeed so convinced were the Government of the need for this liberal measure of Self-Government as a cure for the evils which afflict that country, and for the growth of a healthy public life, that they do not hesitate to make a munificent grant of, I believe, about seven hundred thousand pounds, or more than a crore of Rupees *per annum* to Ireland from the Imperial Treasury, to enable the provisions of this measure to be carried out properly, and without fricton or jar amongst conflicting interests and classes of the community. We ask for not extension of Calcutta's Municipal rights, but we implore that the rights, circumscribed and safeguarded as they are, which have so long been enjoyed, may not be taken away. Is that too much to ask ? Too much even to ask that let at least an inquiry be held, a representative Commission be appointed and the Corporation heard in its defence before this blow is struck, and a dearly cherished right which was granted in 1876, which after experience of its working and full discussion of its merits, was confirmed in 1888, may

not now be suddenly snatched away from a subject and a patient population ?

IMPOLICY OF WITHDRAWING PRIVILEGES ONCE GRANTED—HAPPY OMEN FROM THE PAST.

Brother-Delegates, I have been urging the unwisdom of a retrograde policy, of a policy of withdrawing concessions and privileges once granted. The proposition is so obvious that I do not know that any authorities are needed in support of it. Yet I will quote one, and I will select that one because it will answer a double purpose. Sir Douglas Straight, as we all know, was an eminent Judge of the Allahabad High Court. And perhaps he is even better known in England than in India, and is, I believe, the Editor of one of the most influential and powerful organs of Conservative opinion in England. Writing to the *Times*, he said as follows: "Speaking from thirteen years' residence in India, during which I hope I kept neither my eyes nor ears shut, I am firmly convinced of one thing, and it is this—that while innovations and changes there should only be very gradually and cautiously introduced," it is a strong Conservative you see who is writing, "a concession once made should never be withdrawn, except for reasons of the most paramount and pressing emergency."

Ladies and Gentlemen, no comments of mine are needed on this passage. I said I have selected this for a double purpose. I will explain what I mean. I have already referred to the one instance of retrogade legislation in the past, before the present wave of re-action set in, and to the early and unlamented fate that overtook it. The passage which I have quoted was written in connection with the one instance of administrative proceeding of a retrograde character in the past that I can call to mind in my Province—a proceeding which, too, like its legislative predecessor, was before long withdrawn. Six years ago the Lieutenant-Governor of

Bengal, with the previous sanction, and it would seem at the instance, of the Government of India, issued a Notification seriously curtailing the very limited concession of trial by Jury which Bengal had previously enjoyed. As usual, all this was matured in the dark, without giving any opportunity to the people vitally concerned to know anything, or to be heard or make any representation in regard to the matter. And the Government of India, with contemptuous indifference to the opinions and feelings of the people of India, set about to take steps for enlargiug the area of retrogression, for curtailing and withdrawing the privilege of trial by Jury from some other Provinces also. In fact, I believe the Notification in regard to the Province of Assam had already been issued before the course of the Government was arrested. But happily the agitation that followed on the promulgation of the order reached the shores of England; and it was on that occasion, strongly condemning this order, that Sir Douglas Straight wrote to the *Times*. I will quote one more passage from that letter. Referring to the Jury Notification he observes: "It would be absurd to suppose that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal cannot make a plausible case in support of his new departure; but the question to my mind is not so much whether the operation of the Jury system has exhibited some defects, as to whether the mischief likely to result from its continuance promised to be so grave as to make it his imperative duty to intervene."

It only remains for me, Ladies and Gentlemen, to state the happy conclusion. At the instance of the Secretary of State, a Commission was appointed to inquire into the matter; and, as the result of that enquiry, the "plausible case" set up by the Government of Bengal and which had met with the approval of the Government of India—alas! how easily can plausible cases be set up, specially when they are one-sided

productions—was completely brushed aside, and Indian opinion completely vindicated. And in consequence of the Report of that Commission, the Jury Notification was withdrawn by the very Government which had issued it, and the Jury system which had been threatened with extinction has now instead been further extended in the Province. I need hardly add that the Notification for Assam, too, followed suit. May I not say, happy omen once again, in our present trials.

COST OF THE FRONTIER WAR—REVERSAL OF THE POLICY OF THE PAST

Brother-Delegates, I have said I will not discuss the question, of frontier Policy. But there is one aspect of that question, one sequel to it, which has a most important bearing not only on questions of domestic reform, but on this matter of retrograde policy which we are considering. Who, might I ask, pays the cost of that Policy, begun more than twenty years ago, ordered out from England and by a British Cabinet against the remonstrances of a Viceroy who resigned rather than be an instrument of carrying out that Policy, which has brought wars in its train, which has set on conflagration on the Frontier, which, besides sucking its scores of millions at recurrent periods from the taxation drawn from one of the poorest of populations on the face of the earth, has made a heavy permanent addition to the military charges of India, which has laid its fatal and blighting fingers on almost every work of internal reform—for they need money—on the promotion of the urgently-needed cause of technical education, on the industrial and commercial development of the country which would have blessed, and added to the resources of, millions not only in this county, but amongst the working-men of England. All that has been done in pursuance of this new Frontier and Forward Policy, which reversed all the traditions of the past, may have been

necessary for the safety of Indian Empire from the risk of external aggression. I am not arguing that question now, though we hold strong views on the subject. But, may I ask, if England, Imperial England, has no interest of her own in the safety of the Indian Empire? Has England no stake, no grave and momentous stake, yea, I ask, no vital interest in that safety? Is she quite sure that she would not suffer in her honour and her prestige, in her commerce, in employment for her capital and for her people, in the loss of many of the millions that make up that precious item called the "Home Charges," if India's safety is imperilled and she is lost to the British Crown? And has England or her Government no moral responsibility for the consequences of a policy which she dictates, which the people of India, if they had the faintest whisper of a voice in controlling their own affairs, yea, which the non-official English community resident in India and even the bulk, I believe, of the official community would condemn almost to a man? Ladies and Gentlemen. much as I belive in the principle of division of labour, I do not believe in that division which in these Imperial matters, would make England decide the policy, and India bear the cost. We are unable to look upon that as a particularly happy, or a particularly just, arrangement. Brother-Delegates, it is not as a mere dole, but as a claim of absolute justice, that we ask that the costs which have been incurred by the adoption of what has been known as the Forward Policy on the Indian Frontier Question, and by reason of what has followed from that adoption, should be distributed in some equitable proportion between England and India.

We all know what happened in the past, when not long after the inception of the Forward Policy and the embroilment with Afghanistan Mr. Gladstone came into power in 1880. The Government of that day made a contribution of five millions to India towards the cost

of the Afghan War. We know, too, that the policy of retrogression, of reversing the principles of the past, which we are deploring, has been followed in this case also; that even in year when, in addition to the calamity of the Frontier War, India has been afflicted with famine and pestilence, with earthquake and cyclone, with every trouble indeed that can cause misery, suffering and loss to an unhappy people, the Government have declined to make any contribution towards the expenses of that War. England, which every year makes a grant to the revenues of Cyprus which instead of becoming a "Place of Arms" has become a place of a very different description; which this year out of an overflowing Treasury has made a gift of nearly a million pounds to Egypt for her wars; which this year, too, has made a large grant to the West Indies, a considerable portion of which has further been promised to be *annually* repeated, for—I may as well enumerate some of the purposes—for her agricultural department and agricultural instruction, for steamer subsidies and in aid of local revenues, for assistance towards farming and working central factories, for making roads and purchase of lands—England, which has done all these things, making *new* precedents for helping other countries, though her Government resisted, and successfully resisted, the motion made early this year to follow the old precedent, even at a time so calamitous as the present, of helping India. I think we may profitably spend a minute or two in considering this case of help to the West Indies. Mr. Chamberlain, in proposing the grant in the House of Commons, defended it on two grounds. First, on the ground of the loyalty of the islands—loyalty which they manifested immediately afterwards, not by gratitude, but by deep dissatisfaction at the amount of the grant not being larger, and by the loud expression of a desire for annexation to the United States—we have not heard if there have been

any prosecutions for sedition or transportations for life there. And secondly on the ground of their value to England. As to the comparative value to England of the West Indies and of India, in spite of my temptation to say much, I will content myself with only one significant sentence from the *Pioneer* of the 8th of October last: "The West Indies are utterly worthless to Great Britain, and it would be a relief if we could transfer them to the United States,"

ENGLISH FEELING ON THE ACTION OF THE GOVERNMENT

So glaring is the injustice that has been done to India that, I may be mistaken, but I honestly believe, the bulk of the Unionist Members would have gladly joined the Liberals under Sir Henry Fowler and Mr. Samuel Smith in voting a grant, but for the unhappy and retrograde attitude of the Government and the pressure of party influence. This is what the *Saturday Review*, a Conservative organ and a supporter of the Government, says, referring to their conduct in this matter: "It is a miracle," says that paper in its issue of the 26th of February last, "that in the face of such acts of injustice as this we can still maintain our Imperial rule in India." I do not quote this to endorse it, but to show how widespread is the sympathy amongst Englishmen with India, and how keen was the indignation felt at this reversal of Mr. Gladstone's policy of 1880, even amongst the supporters of the Government. I wonder what our Press Committees, busily engaged in delivering lectures *gratis* on good taste and decorum to the conductors of newspapers, and our Indian Government, would have done if language a hundredth as strong as this had appeared in any Indian paper. I wonder, too, whether an order will be passed to prevent the importation into India from England of "seditious" papers, commencing with the *Saturday Review*, going through, I am afraid, a pretty long list, and ending,

let us say, with the *Review of Reviews*, whose words of bitter and fiery denunciation against what it calls the "criminal imbecility" of the Administration I will not quote; and of speeches and writings, too, like those of such dangerous Conservatives as, let us say begging their pardon, the Hon'ble Member for Cardiff or a late Chief Justice of Bengal.

ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Bristol, some little time before the opening of Parliament, led us to hope for a contribution from the Imperial Treasury. But our own Indian Government, we are told, did not want any help. A Government that has to put off reforms that are admittedly necessary for want of money; a Government that is unable to discharge one of the elementary duties of a civilized Government by placing its administration of justice on a proper footing, on account, as it says, of want of funds; a Government against the "shearing" policy of which at every revision of Provincial Contracts we have heard eloquent and vigorous protest from a late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and from other high authorities; a Government pressed by the heavy demands not only of war, but of a combination of dire calamities unparalleled in the annals perhaps of any country in the world; a Government which is obliged heavily to borrow to meet its liabilities; a Government which has been compelled to close its mints and to raise artificially the value of the coin, to the detriment of many interests, and specially the interests of the poor, in order to avoid serious financial disaster; a Government that had the precedent before it of a similar grant on a previous occasion; such a Government declining to receive any help from the English Treasury, or to be relieved of any portion of its military expenditure, seems, I must confess, to our humble understandings, about the most

extraordinary phenomenon one could think of; and so indeed it seemed to very many people in England, both inside and outside the Parliament. True a leading Anglo Indian journal, whose name I need not perhaps mention, advised their not accepting any help on the ground that this might lead the House of Commons to enquire into or meddle with their doings, or, as it put the matter, "the mischief of Parliamentary interference with Indian affairs" would thereby "be exaggerated a hundred-fold." But I cannot believe that the many distinguished men who constitute the Government of India could possibly have acted under the influence of such an unworthy motive. But I am sure they will forgive us for saying that in view of this proceeding, and in the absence of further light, the people of this country cannot repose that confidence in them, as the protectors of their interests and the guardians of their rights, which it ought to be their duty to repose.

SOME EFFECTS OF THE FORWARD POLICY.

In connection with the burdens imposed by the Forward Policy on the finances of the country and their blighting effect, one has only to turn to the so-called discussions on the Budget in the Provincial Councils, to see how many are the measures whose necessity is admitted by the Government, but which cannot be carried out for want of means—and even these represent but a small fraction of all the important needs of the country for its development, progress and prosperity. In Bengal the Government appointed some years ago a Commission called the Salaries Commission, which reported on the necessity, in the public interests, of an increase in the pay of the ministerial or subordinate establishments. The *Pioneer* not long ago, if I remember aright, pointed out the absolute necessity of this increase, and the serious evils to the administration of

the country resulting from the present inadequate scale of pay. The Government has over and over again in the Council Chamber admitted the urgency of the reform, but pleaded its want of means to carry it out. But, Brother-Delegates, I need not take up your time by bringing coals to Newcastle, by giving instances of what is so perfectly familiar to you. But permit me to refer to one matter which took place in the course of this year, not so familiar to us, unique in its history, and buried in the multitude of answers to Parliamentary questions.

A CENTRAL LABORATORY.

Last year a memorial was presented to the Secretary of State for India signed by the leading scientific men in England, including such names as Lord Kelvin, Lord Lister, Professors Ramsay, Roscoe, Foster and a great many others, asking for the establishment of a Central Scientific Laboratory for advanced teaching and research in India. The memorialists pointed out the great importance of the proposal, not only in the interests of higher education, but also in the interests of the material advancement of the people. It is impossible to conceive of a proposal more influentially supported than this, or more important to the vital interests of the country; and Lord George Hamilton forwarded the memorial with his recommendation, as I gather from Mr. Schwann's question a few months ago in Parliament, to the Government of India. But the Hon'ble Member was informed, in answer to his question, that the Indian Government was unable "to entertain so costly a scheme," on the ground that the *initial* cost of such an establishment would be six lakhs of rupees, or about £40,000. Why if even two millions had been granted from the Imperial Government to relieve the resources of the Indian Government strained to meet the costs of the Frontier War, not only could this "costly scheme" have been started

but nine-and-forty other measures of benefit to the country of a similarly "costly" character could have been carried out. Allow me, Brother Delegates, the privilege of being your mouth-piece to convey to these eminent men the expression of our heartfelt gratitude for the interest they have taken on India's behalf, and to express the earnest hope that their efforts and their representation will yet bear fruit, in the better time to come.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

I need not dwell before you, Ladies and Gentlemen, on the imperative need of technical education which is, in a literal sense, of vital importance to the teeming porverty-stricken millions of India, the imperative need of improving the old industries and introducing new ones, of teaching the people how to utilise, with the help of modern science the many rich and undeveloped resources of the country. This has indeed been admitted on every hand. I remember well the conversation which some of us had with Lord Dufferin shortly before his retirement. He regretted that he had been unable to do anything to further the cause of technical education, the importance of which to India he fully realized; but he had every confidence his successor would earnestly take up the question. Lord Lansdowne has come and gone, and his successor too—to whom we cordially wish every happiness after his many arduous labours amid the storm and stress of these years—will in a few days bid farewell to the scene of his labours; but the question of technical education stands practically where it did, for want of means to promote it.

BACKWARD OR FORWARD

Brother-Delegates, I will not take up more of your time by continuing this review of the past. But as one glances back over the history of these retrograde

and repressive measures and sees that the steam of re-action is yet running, the question arises to the mind, and I ask our rulers, nay, all Englishmen, seriously to consider it, whether Backward or Forward is to be inscribed as the motto on the banner of England in its future administration of this great country. Are we to march backwards into the methods of despotism, to the weapons of coercion, to the policy of distrust; or are we to march onwards in the path which was traced out by those noble English men who have been the founders, the consolidators, the saviours of the Empire, the path which leads to advancing and not to receding freedom; to greater trust in the people, to rights enlarged and not to concessions withdrawn? For it is at once a melancholy and a curious feature of the present situation, that we stand here not merely in defence of the liberties of the people of India, put also in vindication of the policy, the sagacity, the wisdom, and the foresight of illustrious men.

INDIAN FEELING

To fulfil England's mission in India, much, very much, remained to be steady and progression carrying on of that work, but in its place has begun this process of pushing backwards, this process of distrust and repression. Will Englishmen place themselves for a moment in our position, look with our eyes, and try to realize what their feelings would have been under the circumstances? For that, after all, is the way to follow, if they wish to understand, and not misunderstand, the situation. There is much of the same human nature in the East as in the West. Is it any wonder that the process I have mentioned and some unhappy speeches to which I will not more particulary refer, which we have heard from the Council Chamber, should have caused widespread pain, surprise, regret and anxiety, yea, in some quarters even bitterness? Let me give an

illustration of this feeling of pain which struck me very much at the time. An Indian gentleman wrote to me in England a few months ago. He is not an "agitator," whatever that word may mean. He is a gentleman unknown to fame, who takes no part in public meetings or in the discussion of public question, but quietly does the work of his office. He wrote to me about his brother, then staying in England; but in the course of his letter he mentioned about the recent proceedings of Government, and concluded with these words; "Are you a friend to British Rule? Try your best to induce the authorities to withdraw the suicidal policy of Government. If you are an enemy, well, my advice is keep quiet, and let things take their course." May I ask the authorities, if these words should by some chance happen to meet their eyes, to seriously consider the import of the sentence I have quoted, written in confidence, wrung in the anguish of his heart from a simple and quiet citizen, deeply attached to the British Rule? I trust my friend will forgive me for having quoted that sentence from his private letter. Let me quote another gentleman—not a nameless or a fameless one now—who, having served the Government with honour and distinction in charge of several most important Districts, having risen to the highest post in the Executive Service of the Government to which a native of India has yet been appointed, has recently retired from the Service—need I say I refer to our distinguished countryman, Mr. R. C. Dutta? I congratulate my friend on his being unmuzzled. I trust, by his informed exposition of the effects of their recent policy, he will now be in a position to render even greater service to the Government he has served so long and so faithfully, than when he was fettered by the trammels of office. Speaking in condemnation of our new Law of Sedition at a meeting held in London on the 20th June last, Mr. Dutta observed, with the auth-

ority of intimate knowledge, as follows: "It is with deep regret that I have to say that I can hardly remember any time—and my memory goes back to the time of the Mutiny—when the confidence of the people of India in the justice and fair-play of English rulers was so shaken as it has been within the last two years." And he goes on to deplore the policy of suspicion and repression adopted of late by the Government, which has led to this most unhappy result.

It is the saddest of thoughts to my mind—the thought, Ladies and Gentlemen,—that the very means which, no doubt from the best of intentions, the Government have adopted to root out what they believe to be want of affection or disaffection in this country, will tend not to attach but to alienate: not to cure but to create those very evils they at the same time to drive it deep beneath the surface and thus add seriously to its potency for mischief.

THE EDUCATED CLASSES.

Turning again to the words of that touching appeal in the letter of my correspondent, it is *because* we are friends to British Rule, it is *because* all our highest hopes for the future, and not our hopes only but the hopes of generations to come, are indissolubly bound up with the continuance of that rule, with the strengthening and the bettering of that rule, with the removal of all and every cause which may tend to the weakening of that rule—and there are such causes in operation—that we speak out, and the impolicy, the unwisdom, yea, the danger of the recent course of administrative and legislative proceedings. It is because of this feeling that we are trying to the best of our power—alas, so limited—to induce the authorities, and the great body of justice-loving and generous-minded Englishmen, both here and in England, to withdraw from that course;

and find the path of safety, of honour, of mutual advantage and the truest and the most abiding glory, in going forward in fearless confidence, trusting the people, extending the bounds of freedom, not forging new fetters but gradually removing those that exist, not taking away but adding to the rights of the people, helping on the cause of India's regeneration with the passionate longing and the loving ardour that come from consciousness of a duty and a solemn responsibility from on high. The educated classes of India are the friends and not the foes of England, her natural and necessary allies in the great work that lies before her. It is on their hearty, devoted, and loving co-operation that the welfare and the progress of the country so largely depend. All that they ask for is that England should be true to herself, that she should not forget the teachings of her history and the traditions of her past, that British rule should be conducted on British principles, and not on Russian methods. Is this, Ladies and Gentlemen, sedition, or is it the highest homage which India can pay to England, the dawning of that glorious day, proudest in the history of England, foreseen as in a vision more than sixty years ago by Macaulay, when instructed in European knowledge we might ask for the blessings of European institutions. The educated classes wish and long for the strengthening and not the loosening of the bond which unites the two countries, and which is the guarantee, not only of order, but of progress; and they look forward to the time when they too, can claim the rights and share the glories of citizenship in the proudest Empire that the world has ever seen. Let it be the part of wisdom, of prudent statesmanship and political foresight, to foster and not to crush this feeling; to extend the hand of fellowship and loving, ministering help, and not hurl insults or the weapons and methods of coercion, which wound but cannot heal.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Brother-Delegates, the Indian National Congress has been described, and rightly described, as the noblest achievement and a crown of glory for British Rule in India. And yet how great has been the ignorance, how gross the misrepresentations which have from time to time assailed it. I will not notice these misrepresentations of ignorance and blind prejudice. They have often been noticed before. But if it is at times disheartening to find this great movement, which ought to have been warmly welcomed as a valued help, subjected to unworthy attacks, let us remember that this has been the fate of every great movement which has made for human progress or human welfare. It is cheering, on the other hand, to find ample recognition of the aims and the work of Congress from many quarters. I might quote the opinions of many high authorities, but I will content myself with placing before you the generous testimoney of one eminent man. Sir Richard Garth, a Privy Councillor and a good Conservative, who was a Conservative Member of Parliament before he came out to hold the exalted office of Chief Justice of Bengal, said a few years ago, replying to an attack which had been made on the Congress: "I will tell you what they have done. They have dared to think for themselves; and not only for themselves, but for the millions of poor ignorant people who compose our Indian Empire. They have been content to sacrifice their own interests, and to brave the displeasure of Government, in order to lend a helping hand to those poor people. They have had the courage and the patriotism to denounce abuses which have disgraced our Indian rule for years past; which have been condemned by public opinion in India and in England, and to which the Indian Government appear to cling with a tenacity which seems utterly inexplicable. They have dared to

propose reforms which, despite the resistance of the Government, have been approved by Parliament, and to endeavour to stay that fearful amount of extravagance which has been going on in India for years past, and has been the means, as some of our best and wisest counsellors consider, of bringing our Eastern Empire to the verge of bankruptcy." May the blessing, which is the portion of those who lift up their voice for the weak of this world, attend Sir Richard Garth in his retirement for this manly and noble vindication of the Congress against the misrepresentations, based on ignorance, of many in high places; for his strong words of condemnation, spoken with the experience and the authority of a position highest in the land, of the miserable system which combines judicial and executive functions in the same officer, and which of late has been further extended by our Government; and for his many other services to the cause of the people of India! And permit me, in this wish, to include the many other noble-hearted Englishmen—their number is not few, and their number, Ladies and Gentlemen, is growing every year and pretty fast too—who have lent their generous advocacy to the views of the Natlonal Congress and to the cause of Indian progress.

A DREAMER OF THE WEST.

I read the other day, as no doubt many of you have done, a remarkable speech delivered in London by one of these noble-hearted Englihmen to whom I have referred, our good friend, Professor Murison. In the course of that speech he said that "he looked forward to the time when they would have Secretary of State and a Governor-General of Indian who would recognize clearly that it was impossible to govern the Indian Empire without the cordial co-operation of the Indian people, and who would send for the President of the National Congress, and say, 'Come, my friend, have we

not both the same interests at heart? Are we not both men of affairs? Come, let us reason together." I see also from the report that this sentiment was loudly cheered. I think, Ladies and Gentlemen, after this we must no longer speak of the Dreamy East. It appears that there is a Dreamy West too, and Professor Murison is one of its dreamers. I am afraid it will be a very long time before that dream of friendly conference he speaks of will come true. Not that any Viceroy would not find it of advantage to consult any of the distinguished men who have proceded me in the Chair—I make, I *can* make absolutely no claim for myself—to take representatives of educated India into his confidence, and to enter into that partnership of cordial co-operation that our friend speaks of; but it is not, Ladies and Gentlemen, always good things or desirable things that are the things of this actual world.

SYMPATHY THE CURE.

I trust I have made the situation created by recent proceedings sufficiently clear. It is one to cause anxiety to every friend of India of England. But the remedy, too, is clear, and the narrative itself unfolds it. Sir Francis Maclean, the present Chief Justice of Bengal, is reported to have said at a meeting held in Calcutta, I believe early this year when the Sedition Bill was before the public, that "he had heard a great deal recently since coming to India, of sedition and measures in connection with it; but it seemed to him the only rational way of putting down sedition was by sympathy, boundless sympathy, with their legitimate hopes and aspirations." These words deserve to be inscribed in letters of gold; and permit me, Ladies and Gentlemen, to offer to Sir Francis Maclean, on your behalf, our thanks for this noble utterance breathing the instincts of true statesmanship. Yes, it is sympathy, boundless sympathy with the people in their needs, and sympathy,

too, with them in all their legitimate aspirations that is wanted—and then from that sympathy will naturally come, as rain-drops from the descending cloud, the many measures that are required to promote their interests and redress their grievances. With truer knowledge and keener sympathy, many things will assume a different aspect, and our rulers will, if I may respectfully be permitted to say so, see things with new eyes. Then, indeed, will all the unrest that we have, of late, so much heard of, vanish as before a magician's wand, as darkness before the rising sun. For, indeed, love and sympathy work miracles in the political, no less than in the moral or spiritual, world. There can be no surer or firmer foundation for earthly power than the affection and confidence of its subjects. I have quoted the Chief Justice of Bengal; let me quote a few lines from Mr. Chamberlain's great speech at Glasgow, delivered on the 3rd of November of last year: "The makers of Venice," said Mr. Chamberlain, "with whose peculiar circumstances as a commercial community, dependent for its existence on its command of the sea, we have much in common, declared it to be their principal object 'to have the heart and the affection of our citizens and subjects'; and in adopting this true principle of Empire, they found their reward in the loyalty of their colonies and dependencies when the Mother City was threatened by enemies whom her success and prosperity had raised against her." This, indeed, Ladies and Gentlemen, as Mr. Chamberlain has said, is the "true principle of Empire," to possess the *hearts* of citizens as well as of subjects, and to win as its reward the loyalty alike of colonies and of dependencies.

And the same thing has been said in India, too, by all her wisest administrators. Let me refer here to a pamphlet written not many years ago, by a man honoured and trusted alike by Government and the

people, Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation, and subsequently Member of the Board of Revenue—the late Sir Henry Harrison—under the *non-de-plume* of "Trust and Fear Not." It was written in support of the movement initiated—I am sorry to say unsuccessfully initiated—for the admission into the ranks of Volunteers, af Indians possessing such qualifications of position, character, education, and physical fitness as the Government might see fit to prescribe. I would venture respectfully and strongly to recommend that little book to our rulers ; I have not seen more cogent reasoning, more convincing wealth of illustration, and truer or sounder principles for Indian administration than are contained in that work.

AN APPEAL TO ENGLISHMEN

May I, Ladies and Gentlemen, make in this connection an appeal to all Englishmen in India, and specially to the conductors of the Anglo-Indian Press? In the term Englishman, need I say, that here and throughout this address, I include Scotchmen and Irishmen, and men, too, from Wales. They are the strong and the highly-placed. Their voice is listend to, whilst ours is unheeded. Is there no responsibility, before God and man, on them by reason of this very power that they possess, this very influence they wield—responsibility not to widen the gulf between the races or make difficult the work of the statesman by unkind word or unkind deed, but to extend the hand of sympathy and help the people of India to rise once again in the scale of nations? If they mix with the people and come really to know them, they will perhaps find much to study, much to interest them and to make life even in India worth living, much to learn, to love and esteem, and even to admire. At least such has been the experience of many Englishmen who have tried the process. How often have I noticed with

regret that the attacks and sarcasms of some member of the Anglo-Indian Press have led perhaps to similar effusions or rejoinders in some Indian print. How one longs for men like Knight and Riach—to name the two I have personally known in my part of the country —men who wrote with knowledge and sympathy who loved the people of India, felt in their conscience the burden of their responsibility to them, and proved true champions of their rights—men who have been followed by the gratitude of thousands of their fellow-men. I do not know if those who, either in India or in England, advocate the cause of the unrepresented people of this country, and use the powers that God has given them on their behalf, realize how they help towards making deeper the foundations of the Empire, in forging link, of more than steel which fasten the bonds which bind England and India together. Once an honored English missionary, who belonged to the Established Church, and who had championed the cause of the people in my Province, was sent to jail on the prosecution of some of his own countrymen; but the name of Long went down deep into the hearts of the people, the cause for which he suffered triumphed gloriously in the end and his name is remembered in affectionate gratitude and sung in rustic ballads to this day. Let a nation which is Christian endeavour truly to shew the ideal of Christ, to earnestly realize that there is such a thing as National Righteousness and National Responsibility, and to carry out the divine command of doing to others what they would have wished done to themselves, in the exercise of their power, in their attitude towards Indian aspirations.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we want Englishmen to champion our cause; we want Englishmen, who have held aloft the standard of freedom and progress in every part of the world and have fought and suffered in that cause, to take up the cause of India,—she has

special claims on them—and advocate her rights. And I feel confident that as knowledge spreads, as the sense of the solemn responsibility that rests on them awakens, and the mists of prejudice and ignorance roll away, such men will arise and answer in gladness and joy to our call.

REFORM OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCILS

I will not dwell on the necessity, which recent events have only served to emphasize, of further reform in our Legislative Councils. The subject has often been before us. But let me draw your attention to the question of the constitution of our Executive Councils, and ask the Government on your behalf whether the time has not fully come for remodelling them, and admitting an adequate Indian representation on those bodies. It is these bodies that shape and guide the whole of the administrative policy of the Government, and decide questions of supreme importance to the happiness and well-being of the people—questions often of far greater moment than those that come before the Legislative Councils. At present out of the two hundred millions and more of her people, not one native of India finds a place in any of those Councils; and as we know, the Legislative Bodies exercise no sort of control, direct or indirect over them. Their deliberations are in secret chambers, and not even the faintest echo of suggestion, or criticism can reach them from a public more ignorant of their proceedings than of the movements of the double stars, or the composition of the milky way in the far-off heavens. Is it, Ladies and Gentlemen, necessary to point out, is it necessary to argue the point, that the most honest, and impartial, and fair-minded of tribunals cannot decide justly or do right, unless every information is placed, every interest represented, and every side of the question discussed before it? Is this not the explanation of the mistakes—I need not

refer to the policy of these two years, which I have fully discussed—of the grave mistakes which have *admittedly* been made in the past; and which, as I have shewn, were subsequently rectified when further light was sought from independent public opinion under pressure from England? We are fully aware of the need for the expansion and reform of our Legislative Councils. There is need, grave need, for the expansion and reform of our Executive Councils also, and it may be, for their formation where they do not exist, with adequate Indian representation in them.

DIRECT REPRESENTATION OF INDIA IN PARLIAMENT.

There is other matter in this connection that I should like to place before you. The question of a further redistribution of seats is likely soon to be before the English public. It has already begun to engage attention. But whatever that be so or not, it seems to me that for a proper representation of Indian views and Indian wants, a certain limited number of seats in the House of Commons, may be if need be, so few as say, fifteen, ought to be assigned to the inhabitants of some of the chief cities of India. We have the right to ask for this representation, which will secure for us a hearing before the Assembly which is the ultimate arbiter of our fates; but which at present, however anxious it may be to do jnstice, and to give their due weight to Indian views, has no opportunity of knowing those views, from persons speaking with knowledge and with authority on our behalf. I am convinced this would be of great advantage to the furtherance of our legitimate interests, and to the removal of our wants; as also the consolidation and safe-guarding of the interests of the Empire as a whole. If we can sent a Sir Richard Garth or a Sir John Phear, a Hume or a Reynolds, if we could have sent a Caine or a Naoroji, a Bradlaugh

before Northampton had at length returned him, or a Fawcett when Hackney had rejected him, not to speak of many others, I could easily name, including many earnest and influential English friends of India—and send all these as our own representatives—can any one doubt what a potent factor for justice and fair-play, for good, both to England and to India, would be brought into existence? And it would not only be in the House of Commons, but in the country, too, that they could speak with authority, and command attention to our grievances.

It is true the Colonies are not represented in the House of Commons, but their Budgets are not discussed, nor their policy determined at Westminister; and as for the possible objection that, as in the case of Ireland, the presence of our representatives in Parliament might be used as an argument against the existence or the expansion of our Councils in India—it would be enough to say, that objection could only apply if India were to be represented in the House like Ireland, in proportion to her population. But no one dreams of that. It is as a means to an end, a means, just and necessary in itself and effective for its purpose, that necessary in itself and effective for its purpose, that I suggest this for yonr consideration. I will only add that I have talked with many friends in England who strongly agree as to the justice, and even the necessity, of this reform if Indian views are to receive a proper hearing, and Indian interests are to be furthered. No doubt, as Sir Henry Fowler once said in an eloquent and memorable peroration, they are all Members for India. Yet I think Sir Henry Fowler and most Members of the House would be glad to have some members for India, to represent the vast interests of that country affected by the decisions of Parliament, whose claim to the title might be less questioned, whose assistance would be of service, and from whom they could have the inestimable

advantage of hearing something more than mere official versions of the matters that came up before them. And if this be an anomaly, all that I can say is that this is an anomaly which has reason and justice very strongly on its side, and which is rendered necessary by what has sometimes been called the anomaly of an Indian Empire; that the British Constitution has many anomalies which have much less to say for themselves, and much less ground for their existence, than this.

ORGANIZATION AND CONTINUOUS WORK FOR THE CONGRESS.

Brother-Delegates, I wish now to invite your attention to a most important matter. As I look round at this magnificent assembly gathered from the distant parts of the country, as I see enthusiasm depicted on every face, the question presents itself to my mind, is the Congress to be a mere three days' affair? Is there to be no continuity, no plan and no method, in its every day work? We have achieved much during these years that we have met. We have placed on record our views on all important questions of the day and even of the years to come, we have been carrying out some of the most important objects which have engaged our attention; and to my mind, of far greater moment than all this, we have succeeded in bringing together and knitting in bonds of loving regard, of mutual esteem and fraternal co-operation, representatives from every part of this vast country, infusing national life, strengthening the bonds of common citizenship, kindling the fire of loyal and patriotic service. But, Ladies and Gentlemen, the time has come when, if we are to reap the full fruits of our deliberations and to give *living force* to our resolutions, we must have a standing organization to carry on the work of the Congress from year's beginning to year's end, to carry on that

work continuously, steadily, sending agents and missionaries to different parts of the country, spreading information, awakening interest, issuing leaflets and pamphlets, educating the public mind, drawing attention to the many wants and grievances of the dumb masses, whose spokesman it is the privilege of the Congress to be, pointing out the duty we owe to Government, and helping the Government to the best of our power in its endeavours for the better administration, the better education, the better sanitation of the country,—and we must have men wholly devoted to this most important work. As I am standing before you, my mind goes back to the great gathering at Leicester in March last, the National Congress, I may say, of the Liberal Party, which it was my privilege to attend and to address as a delegate from Cambridge. There are many points of resemblance that struck me between the Annual Meeting of the National Liberal Federation and the Indian National Congress. That meeting, like ours, holds it session for three days, meets at different places from year to year, passes resolutions on subjects of interest to the Party, and its number of delegates, I was struck to find, was very much what our number usually is. But behind all this what a difference! What a busy, active, powerful organization, with a Secretary and a staff of officials wholly given to its work, with a Publishing Department with its separate staff of officials, with its Council Meetings held throughout the year and directing its operations, with its army of agents and workers and its allied Associations at work all over the country! And the same is the case with the great Conservative Party whose organization won such splendid results at the last election. Brother-Delegates, I do not expect you to reach to such heights. If Rome was not built in a day, neither are organizations. They are the results of patient labour for many a long day. But let us resolve that at least

a beginning, a fair beginning, shall be made in the year before us, that when in the closing year of the century, we meet once again, we may look back upon some work done, some foundation laid, some progress achieved in the direction I have ventured to indicate. Into the details of that organization I purposely do not enter. It may be that instead of one central office, we may find it desirable to a large extent to decentralize and divide our work; it may be that we may link on our work in the different Provinces with their respective Provincial Conferences. I trust the matter will be fully considered and a working plan formed before we separate. But one suggestion I would venture to make, that though it may be desirable for us to pass Resolutions in the Congress on a large variety of subjects, we should select a limited number of them, and devote our attention in the coming year, if need be in the years to come, towards carrying these out. This will secure concentration, awaken greater interest, and prevent the frittering away of our not super-abundant energies.

And this brings me to the important question of a Constitution for the Congress, of which, indeed, what I have said above is a part. I trust Madras, which has been described as the home and nursery of India's statesmen, will have the credit of solving this question which has been before us for many years. The time has not perhaps yet come for a fully developed or an elaborate Constitution. But I would ask you to consider, whether we might not at least draw up some simple rules relating to our Constitution and laying down its frame-work, which might be worked in the coming year; and which, with the light of experience thus gained, might, if necessary, come up for re-consideration and all needed expansion at our next session. Unless we make at least a beginning

in some such way, I am afraid it will be long before we can make a start at all.

SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS

What that limited number of questions may be for us to take up, should you decide to adopt my suggestion, I leave to our leaders to decide. But whatever the programme may be, I trust it will not fail to include the two important and pressing questions of the Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions, now vested in one and the same officer of Government, and of Police Reform.

Brother-Delegates, I will not argue the question of the Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions. It has passed the stage of argument long ogo. I have seen the present system in practice and in actual experience for more than twenty years, and the more one sees of it, the more deeply one deplores the delay on the part of the Government in giving effect, even partial effect, to the principle underlying that proposal. Yea, the Government seems to have been busy of late, on the contrary, extraordinary and hard to believe as it may seem, in extending the Judicial powers of its Executive officers. The High Court of Calcutta has pronounced this combination of functions in the same officer as extremely dangerous, and it needs but the slightest of acquaintance with what happens before its Criminal Bench and elsewhere, to know the practical every-day evils that follow from this combination. And what I have said of my Province applies, as we all know, just as well, I am afraid sometimes even more, to other Provinces of India. And let me observe in passing, it is not the men, but it is the system we condemn—the system under which the most consciencious and judicial tempered of men would find it so often impossible to deal unbiased justice. I have

already mentioned the strong condemnation of the system by Sir Richard Garth. Let me refer to the Debate in the House of Lords in 1893, on what is known as the case of the Raja of Mymensingh. It was a petty Executive scandal, compared to what constantly takes place in connection with poorer men; and for which the officer concerned, when subsequently threatened with a heavy suit for damages, had to make an apology in court to the Raja; but it attracted considerable attention owing to the position of the victim. In the Debate to which I have alluded, both Lord Kimberley, the then Secretary of State for India, and Lord Cross, his predecessor in that office, concurred in admitting the undesirability and the inconvenience of the present system of combining the functions. I will quote what Lord Cross said on the subject. Referring to the proposal of separating the two duties, his Lordship observed it was "a matter of the gravest importance," and that the plan to his mind "would be an excellent one resulting in vast good"—mark the words—"vast good to the Government of India." And later on, when this subject was referred to in the House of Commons, the Under-Secretary of State repeated that in the opinion of Lord Kimberley, "the union of Judicial and Executive powers is contrary to right principle."

THE FINANCIAL DIFFICULTY IN CARRYING OUT THE REFORM.

With such authorities on our side, the very highest one could possibly wish for, it may be asked how is it that the present system is allowed to go on, and the "vast good" to the cause of administration which Lord Cross spoke of is still unattained. I will give the answer in Lord Kimberley's words. "The difficulty," his Lordship observed in the Debate I have referred to, "is simply this, that if you were to alter the present system in India, you would have to double the staff

throughout the country." How sad, Brother-Delegates, to think that this is the information as to the consequ-ences of separating the functions, which some one at the India Office had placed before Lord Kimberley, and which of course Lord Kimberley was bound to accept. Doubling the staff throughout India! Why, the information is not only incorrect, but for the greater part of the country, so materially and grossly, incorrect, that very slight acquaintance with the real state of things on the part of the official supplying the information would have prevented its being furnished. But before I proceed with this matter, I will make one remark. Even if the statement I have referred to were correct, having regard to the great importance of the matter, would it not have been the duty of the Indian Government to have tried to carry out the reform, to make at least a beginning even if it were at the price of some reduction in its military expenditure, or by curtailment of its expenses in some other way? The debate I have referred to took place in the month of May. Within three months of it, a scheme was published by Mr. R. C. Dutt, himself, a District Magistrate and an experienced and trusted officer of Government in service at the time, going into the matter for the Province of Bengal; and shewing that the separation of the two functions could be carried out with but little or no extra expense on the part of the Government, and with increased efficiency as regards the discharge of both the Administrative and the Judicial duties now vested in the same officer. I will quote here only some concluding sentences of Mr. Dutt's memorandum: "The scheme which has been briefly set forth in the preceding paragraphs is a practicable one, and can be introduced under the present circumstances of Bengal, excluding the backward tracts. I have worked both as Sub-Divisional Officer and as District officer in many of

the Districts in Bengal, and I would undertake to introduce the scheme in any Bengal District, and to work it on the lines indicated above." And he adds, if this separation be carried out, "The police work, the revenue work, and the general executive work can then be performed by the District Officer with greater care and satisfaction to himself, and also greater satisfaction to the people in whose interests he administers the District."

The scheme of Mr. Dutt is one on the same simple and readily suggested lines as some others which had been set forth long before the debate in the House of Lords, by Mr. Monomohan Ghose, Mr. Ambicacharan Maitra, and many others. And it was, I may add, with some slight modifications, approved on the one hand by Sir Richard Garth, who had held the highest Judicial office in Bengal, and on the other by Mr. Reynolds, who had held the highest Executive office under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, having been Chief Secretary for years, and afterwards Senior Member of the Board of Revenue for the Province. Here, then, was a practical scheme, dealing with an admitted and a grave evil, drawn up by a responsible and competent person, and afterwards approved by those who could indeed claim to speak on the subject with the very highest authority. But to pursue the history of the matter.

On the 29th of August of the same year, the Indian Association of Calcutta forwarded a Memorial to the Government of India through the Government of Bengal, enclosing Mr. Dutt's scheme, referring to the weighty expression of opinion on the subject in the House of Lords and elsewhere, and appealing to the Government to take that scheme into its earnest consideration with a view to the introduction of the reform. Well, Ladies and gentlemen, more than five years have elapsed since that Memorial was submitted,

and the Association I believe, still waits for a reply. I would rather, Brother-Delegates, not make any comments on this matter, but leave the simple facts, I have narrated to tell their own tale and to carry their own lessons. It remains for me to add that I believe other Associations too have in these years moved the Government in the matter; and I will leave the subject with the expression of a strong and fervent hope that this reform, as important in the cause of the liberty of the subject as in the interests of good administration, and supported by a practical unanimity of opinion of the highest weight, will no longer be delayed or trifled with; and the painful scandals and miscarriages of justice, and the serious inconvenience to parties, which now so frequently occur, will soon be things of the past in the annals of British administration of the country.

REFORM OF THE POLICE

I have detained you longer than I intended on this question of separation of duties; but I thought it necessary to deal with spectre of financial difficulty. As regards the Reform of the Police, my remarks will be few. There is not, Ladies and gentlemen, a man, woman, or I might add, child in India who requires to be told anything about, at any rate, this question. Indeed I have heard many good men and true, seriously discuss whether the total abolition of the Police Force, at least of a very considerable portion of it, would not be much better than the present affliction. There has been a Police Commission, but in its practical results we seem to stand just where we did. The other day, in June last I think, a paper was read on the subject in London at a meeting of the East Indian Association by Mr. Whish, an experienced and distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service; and Sir Lepel Griffin, who has seen long and eminent

service in India, and who holds the responsible position of Chairman of the Council of that Association, said "there is no doubt that our administration in India is heavily weighted by the unpopularity attaching to the police, who are rapacious and carrupt," and, he might have added, oppressive to a degree not easy for a stranger to conceive. This was said in England. Let us come to India. In a reported judgment which appears in October last, I find the District Magistrate of Balia saying with reference to a case before him: "It is refreshing to find riot cases in which the Police appear neither to have tutored witnesses, nor to have included, for reasons of their own, the names of men who did not take part in them, nor what is more common, omitted the names of the most influential participators in the riot." I hope there are here and some more exceptions, even one of which the Balia Magistrate found so refreshing, to prove the general rule.

But, Ladies and Gentlemen I must not go on quoting authorities on this subject, or I shall not know where to stop, I think I owe you an apology for having mentioned even these two, on a question so painfully familiar as this. If our rulers could only know and fully realize the amount of suffering and oppression caused to the people by the Police which is intended and paid for their protection, I do not think that this sad blot on the administration could very long be allowed to remain. Here again, it is not the men, but the system which is responsible for so much. But instead of asking you to be content in this case with my authority, let me quote just a sentence from the paper of Mr. Whish to which I have already referred. Speaking with the authority of long and intimate personal knowledge, and while describing "the intolerable burden of crime manufactured by the police" and many similar matters gravely reflecting on their conduct, he adds,

he had no intention of "making any sort of complaint against the Indian Policeman in himself; on the contrary, considering the vicious system under which he works, I consider it absolutely marvellous that he should be as good as he is."

I have mentioned the two questions of Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions and of Police Reform. To those who have studied the matter there is an important and a delicate connection between some aspects of the two questions into which, however, I do not propose—I have not the time—to enter. But permit me to point out that if ever there are questions which affect the masses of our people, the poorest of the poor a great deal more than the rich, it is these two matters. In fact, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am not sure if a "rapacious and corrupt" Police, to use Sir Lepel Griffin's expression, is not sometimes rather an advantage than otherwise to an unscrupulous but well-to-do individual. There is only one more remark I will make before I leave this subject. Here in the Congress we remember with gratitude the labours of our friend Mr. Monomohan Ghose, a distinguished member of this body, who made this question of the Judicial powers of Executive officers peculiarly his own, and had worked for its furtherance until the closing hours of his life.

WORK IN ENGLAND.

How many other questions crowd to the mind—many of them of great inportance--but I must resolutely turn my face away. There is a limit, Brother-Delegates, even to your indulgence. I have spoken to you of the work to which we might direct our attention in India, which needs to be done, and which, I venture to hope, will be done. Let me now turn to the other side of that work, the work in England. It is impossible to speak of it without our thoughts turning with deep gratitude to the British Committee headed by Sir

William Wedderburn containing such friends of India as Hume and Caine, Roberts and Naoroji. and many others whose names are so well known to you, and to their unselfish labours on India's behalf. It is a matter of special satisfaction to us to see the growing number of meetings which are being held in England under the auspices of the Committee; and this cannot fail to create, I trust and earnestly hope, amongst the members of both the great Parties of England, an increased interest and a greater sense of responsibility, in the affairs of this country. And how much we owe to our friends Mr. Chambers and Mr. Dutt, who may be said to have represented Bombay and Bengal in particular, for their eloquent, earnest and informed pleadings on India's behalf in meeting after meeting, carrying conviction and rousing interests. But in this connection, will you permit me, my friends from Madras, members and friends of the Congress whom I am glad to see present in such large numbers, whose patriotism and self-sacrifice, whose zeal and devotion, have made this session of the Congress such a success in spite of many difficulties, will you permit me to ask when will *your* representative—or may I not use the plural number—start to do India's work in the land of our rulers, and hold a meeting, not in the Hyde Park of Madras, but in that other Hyde Park where Londoners love to congregate? As to the methods, and lines of expansion, of the work in England, I need not now speak. I had occasion not long ago to speak on that subjct in Bombay. But, Brother-Delegates, what I would specially draw your attention to is the need and the great importance of that work in England, the need of funds, and not less, but even more, of men, capable and earnest, who will go from India, meet English audiences face to face, and inform them of the actual state of things. That such men will meet with patient

and sympathetic hearing, and find amongst English people the desire to do full justice to the claims and aspirations of India, all past experience has shewn.

A MEETING AT CAMBRIDGE

Let me as an illustration refer to one meeting, and it will be only one, out of a great many that I might cite. On the 6th November of last year, it was my privilege to be present at the first meeting of a political character during my recent visit to England. After a lapse of three and twenty years, I found myself once again in the Hall of the Cambridge Union Society with its many associations of the past, where the Motion for Debate that day was one condemning the "Recent Policy of Coercion" in India. And after a full discussion, in which every shade of opinion was represented, a House which in its ordinary composition is Conservative in the proportion, I believe, of more than two to one, passed that Resolution condemning the action of the Government of India. There have been many meetings since then which Mr. Dutt and others have addressed, and amongst audiences of every variety; but I refer to this particular occassion, not only on account of the character of the meeting in its political composition, and that was remarkable, but also on account of the culture and the position of those taking part in it, and the possibilities in the future open to them. There was one remark in that Debate from an Ex-President of the Union, who spoke in favour of the motion, which struck me very much. England, he said, after referring to her colonial policy, had learnt how to attach to her in bonds of affection people of her own race in distant parts of the world, by following a liberal policy of wise concession. But it would be, he added, a far prouder day to her when she succeeded in knitting to her and making her own, people of another race in her great Indian Empire, by

following the same wise policy. I do not know whether my friend will ever come out as Viceroy of India. But, Ladies and Gentlemen, we shall have soon amongst us as our Viceroy an Ex-President of the sister Union Society of Oxford. Let us trust that it will be given to Lord Curzon, endowed with the double gift of "Courage and Sympathy" of which he spoke, to steer the vessel of State and carry it on towards that goal, which, we know, is also the high ideal which he has set before himself in assuming his office.

There is one word more, Ladies and Gentlemen, which I must say. The English are often supposed to be a reserved nation. But speaking from experience of kindness which will remain engraved in my heart so long as memory lasts, of cordiality and even warm friendship from men whom I had never known before, I doubt if there are anywhere kinder and truer men and women, than are to be met with in that country. Permit me, Brother-Delegates, from this great gathering to send not alone my own heartfelt gratitude for all this kindness—how its bright recollection rushes to the mind—but your acknowledgments also for help ungrudgingly given by them, for sympathy unstintedly shewn, and for interest whose warmth left nothing to be desired, on behalf of the cause of India and her people.

GRATITUDE TO GOVERNMENT

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have felt it my duty to examine and criticise many of the recent proceedings of the Government. But I have a pleasanter duty to perform before I close, the duty of expressing our gratitude to the Government for its changed attitude in regard to the policy of dealing with that calamity of the Plague which has now been afflicting this country for so long, and which indeed, is not, as I am speaking

very far from our doors. Let whatever of mistakes, be they light or be they grave, which may have been made in the earlier stages, be forgotten; and I am sure, Brother-Delegates, it will be your earnest endeavour, as indeed it is your bounden duty, to render every possible help to Government in its efforts to meet this dire foe. And we thank the Government of Lord Sandhurst in particular for the considerate and deep spirit of sympathy shewn in its last Resolution dealing with the nature of plague operations, and let me add, for the statesman-like resolve to which I believe it has lately come not to charge to Poona the cost of the Punitive Police Force, and for its opening the prison-door to Mr. Tilak. May we not hope that all these are happy indications of return to a policy of concilation, sympathy, and trust, and of increased touch with the people—indications which will multiply until the grave mischief of the past is undone, and the path once more opened which leads to progress, reform, and contentment?

ENCOURAGEMENT TO EDUCATION

I shall presently refer to a liberal example of endowment in the cause of education; but before doing so permit me to note with gratitude the generous and magnificent offer which Mr. Tata—a true benefactor of his country—has made in furtherance of the cause of higher scientific education. Perhaps I may also mention the offer by the Maharaja of Mymensing, in my Province, for the establishment of some scholarships for the encouragement of technical education by sending students to Europe, America or Japan. All these are truly encouraging signs, and let us hope there will be many in every part of the country to follow their noble example, and help on, in this and in every other direction, the cause of Indian progress.

SOME DEATHS.

It is with deep regret we heard in September last the news of the sudden death of Sirdar Dayal Singh Majithia of Lahore,—one of the leading noblemen of the Punjab and belonging to an illustrious Sikh family, —a tried staunch friend of the Congress, as indeed of every good cause, on whose invitation and in no small measure by whose liberality the Session of the Congress was held at Lahore five years ago. It is a satisfaction to know that even in death he did not forget the cause of his country, which was ever so dear to his heart; and knowing that education was the basis on which every cause that makes for the progress of the country must rest, has left a munificent endowment for starting a First Grade College in his native Province. And now in the closing month of the year, not a fortnight ago, has passed away to the realm beyond one of the noblest and the most illustrious of India's sons, illustrious not by birth and position alone, the Premier Nobleman of Bengal and the Head of its proud Aristocracy—but illustrious by that which is a higher nobility by far than that of birth and wealth, God's own nobility of a rich heart and a rich service in humanity's cause. In the Maharaja of Durbhanga, the British Government loses a loyal subject and perhaps the most trusted and honored of its Councillors, the country one of the greatest of its benefactors and staunchest of the defenders of its rights, and the Congress a friend, generous helper, a warm supporter—none warmer—whose value no word that can fall from our lips can adequately express. Can memory fail to go back at this moment to that scene when two years ago he came to the Congress Pavilion in Calcutta, the last he lived to attend, and the whole assembly rose as one man with an enthusiasm that knew no bounds, to welcome this friend alike of the Government and of the people? To me, the deaths of Sirdar Dyal Sing and of

the Maharaja of Durbhanga come with the suddenness and the poignancy of grief at the loss of two who were personal friends, and whom I had eagerly hoped soon to meet after a long absence. But they have, Ladies and Gentlemen, left behind, marks in the foot-print of time, which, we trust and pray, may be an encouragement and a guide to others of their class, and to all true and loyal sons of India. Nor is yet the tale of death complete. For we have to mourn, too, the closing in its brilliant promise and amid many useful labours, of another career, in the death of Dr. Bahadurji of Bombay. Of all he did for his own Presidency, and of his devoted labours in the last two years of his youthful life in battling with the plague and bringing succour to the afflicted, I need not speak. But on this platform, from which he has often addressed us, we specially call to mind to-day his services to the cause of Medical Reform which he had made specially his own. Let others come and gather round the standard which has fallen from his hands before the battle was won.

THE MOTHER-LAND

Ladies and Gentlemen, I began with a reference to Mr. Gladstone, and I will finish, too, with a reference to that great man. It was a cold morning when, closely muffled up, pale and ill, the great statesman was entering his carriage at Bournemouth, making the last journey of his life, on his way to Hawarden, there to die. A crowd had assembled at the station, to bid him farewell, to have a last look at the face not much longer destined for earth. In response to their cheers and salutations, Mr. Gladstone uttered these words—the last he uttered in public—he who had so often held audiences of his countrymen spell-bound by the magic of his voice, "God bless you all, and this place, and the land you love so well." The worlds were few, and the reporters added, the voice was low. But there was

in them, the last words of the parting hero, a pathos of farewell and of benediction, a deep thrill as of another world, which produced an effect not less perhaps, but more, than the great efforts of a happier time. And let us too, following those simple words of Mr. Gladstone, ask God that He may bless us all and this dear land of ours. Do you, do we, Brother delegates love that land the land that gave us birth; the land beloved of the gods, they say, in ages gone by, when the world was young and darkness lay over many of its peoples; the land where knowledge lighted her earliest torch, the arts of life and civilization found their home, and philosphy pondered deep over the problems of life; where Rishis sang those hymns to the Father in the Shining Sky, the earliest of the Aryan world which still live and throb in our hearts, and the eyes of the Seer saw visions of things not of this world; that land where, after ages, the sundered streams of Aryan life unite once again in the present day? That land, Brother-Delegates, deserves all our love. Love her the more, cling to her the closer, for her misfortunes of the past, for the shadows and the clouds that have hung over her in the times that have gone. After centuries of darkness, the dawn of a better day has now opened for her. and the golden light has already begun to stream over her fair face. It depends on us, brothers and sisters, fellow-citizens of this ancient land, it depends on us, on our sense of duty, on our spirit of loving sacrifice and earnest effort, whether the streaks of that light shall broaden and grow into the ages, the fire of her intellect, of her heroism, of her piety, dimmed but yet not wholly extinguished, and waiting but the breeze of manly effort and kindly help to burn once again in the time to come, let us hope, with the splendour and lustre as of old.

Lord Salisbury spoke the other day of the living and the dying nations of the world. Shall India, brother

delegates, by a living nation, shall they once agrin be realities in the time before us ? On us, brother-delegates, depends the answer, on our efforts, on the lives we live and the sacrifices we make, not in the political field alone but in many another field; and let us not forget that never was progress won without sacrifice. And in that effort, depend upon it, we shall get, as indeed we claim, the loving help and the ardent sympathy of the great Nation, into whose hands Providence has entrusted the destinies of this land.

The German host marched to its triumph to the cry of "God and Fatherland." Let ours be a still dearer cry, the cry of "God and Motherland," as our mission also is the holier and nobler enterprise of peace, of love, of loyal progress, of every duty to our Beloved Sovereign faithfully discharged, of individual growth and national re-generation. Hear we, my friends, the trumpet-call of duty resounding to us amid the stirring scenes, the moving enthusiasm, the thrilling sights of this great gathering ? Yes, the call sounds clear, but let our heart gather the strength to respond to that call, and to be true to her, our Common Mother, the Land of our birth ; to be true and faithful to the light that is within us, and to every noble impluse that stirs within us, and may we, as we return to our homes, to the spheres of our daily duty, carry a little more of the love to our country than when we came, a little more of the earnest longing to be good and true and useful, before the day closeth and our life's work is done !

———

PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING ADDRESS

At the Madras Congress in Response to a Vote of Thanks

Brother-Delegates, to quote the words of my friend who moved the resolution, my friends among the people of Madras, eight and twenty years ago there was a stranger who spent a night in your city. He was a humble pilgrim to the shrine of learning in the land of our rulers. The steamer that carried him stopped for a night and enabled him then to see a little of your grand city. Did he dream then that it would be his fortune to be installed in this chair and to be received with the kindness, the overwhelming kindness that he has met with from the moment that he landed on the pier the other day to the present? On that occasion, true I had my friend and honored leader, Mr. Keshab Chandra Sen, with me (cheers). Therefore it was possible for me to receive foretaste in his company, of the kindness that distinguishes this city, but yet, as I said, not the wildest fancy, not the loudest voice of imagination, could have suggested to me the possibility of the honour that you have rendered me here. I got down the other day and through miles of procession amongst men and women, amongst flowers being scattered in the streets and flowers thrown from the numerous arches under which I passed, it was my privilege to come to this pavilion and to come to this park. That was your kindness and you add to that by passing this vote which has been so feelingly and so eloquently moved. Years ago I read a little book called, "Through

the Looking Glass," and, as you would expect in the looking glass things looked topsyturvy, the reverse of their natural order; and when you, my friends, thank me for, as you are pleased to call,—I am ashamed to repeat the words—the condescension and kindness on my part, all I can say is that things seem here to be rather the reverse of what they ought to be, (Cries of "No, no") because it is to you my thanks are due for filling to overflowing and more than overflowing, the cup of your kindness, which kindness will ever remain engraven on my heart. Ladies and Gentlemen, with regard to the work of the Congress it was my privilege to say something on the opnening day. I will not refer to that. I have not had the time even to refer to papers and telegrams that have been appearing; but I learn from what fell from the lips of my friend Mr. Surendranath Bannerji, there has been a charge brought that the accusations against Government are of a vague and general character. This one remark and one remark alone shall I venture to make; that in the facts that I stated the charges that were brought if that is the name—the name may or may not be correct—if there are specific allegations, they are allegations directed to to a definite issue for judgment on evidence adduced and for decision. To the charges that were brought, as I said, I would not refer, because I am hoping that the day of reaction will soon pass away. Yea, the brighter day has already begun, and in the Viceroyalty that is inaugurated and that is being inagurated we shall have a blessed era of domestic reform and progress. Ladies and Gentlemen, I thought it would fall to my share and that it would be my privilege to thank the Reception Committee and the volunteers for all that they had done, but I need not go over that ground. That ground has been covered with eloquence, ability, and feeling, by the very people who had used the credentials of the common tie of citizenship and brotherly love. That

task has been performed. Therefore all that I can say is that I echo from the bottom of my heart every one of the sentiments that were given expression to. We are indeed beholden unto you, our friends, members of the Reception Committee, for the wonderful success that in spite of the difficulties, that were unprecedented in the history of the Congress in these many years of its existence, in spite of these difficulties, you have brought it to such a successful issue. I learn you took it up before your time came to take it up, with that zeal and self-sacrifice which is the foundation of national greatness, the basis of national progress. You stepped into the breach and took up the charge, which nobly, my friends of Madras, you have discharged. This is the first time that the Congress has been held in a city where actual cases of plague and more than the plague, the scare of plague, did indeed exercise a terrorising influence over the minds of many. In spite of this, it has happened. As to the Volunteers, need I say how great is our gratitude to them for their willing and cheerful service rendered with love and enthusiasm, rendered with humility and devotion, which is an example to us and which ought to be the example all the days of our life. All that I can hope and pray for them is that this devotion will grow with the growth of their days, that this enthusiasm and this love of country as manifested in the service to us, the loveliest of the people the servants of the country, this devotion may grow, broaden, brighten and increase until in the fulness of time, it may accomplish results for the regeneration of our motherland, which at the present time is almost beyond all dream.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we are on the eve of a new year, literally on the eve of a new year. It is usual with many of the communities to select a motto for the new year, to start on a new year with a motto which is ever present before their minds and before their

eyes. I ask this Congress, I ask also those who are present here within the reach of my humble voice, to select a motto for themselves which will embody the principles of their action in this year, the last of the century, that is now opening before them. May I take the liberty to suggest one motto for them? (Cries of "Yes") Let me suggest the motto "Love and Service" (cheers). You have cheered the name of India, the great motherland, whenever it has been mentioned. Now, let it not be simple cheering, but let it be loving the country; the love that is implanted in the depths, deepest depths of your hearts, a love that grows out of it, covers all the regions of your hearts. The sipirit of love grows and grows until it enables you to achieve the work that has to be done, if india is to be no longer, as I said the other day, a dying but a living nation. Love the country, love your countrymen, the children of the common mother. Be they Hindus, Mahommedans, or Christians or whatever be their religious persuasion, matters not; they are all brothers. Love them with that brotherly love. (Cheers). Permit me, friends, before I go on with a few remarks of mine, to refer to one observation which fell from my friend who moved the resolution. He said that in failing health, I had been able to come, and the thought then came to my mind, while I am deeply thankful to you for that indulgence, for that kindness and sympathy and for that forbearance, which has enabled me to carry on that work and for which I appealed to you on the opening day, my gratitude is also due to a higher power that rules the destinies of nations, that has given me strength when I expected no strength. Shall I tell you, friends, a secret? The day before I left Calcutta, I arranged with a dearly loved and honored friend that he would read for me that address which I had written. I did not then anticipate that I should have even the strength given to me to read it,

but God, in His kindness, has sustained me, and let me, therefore, with a doubly grateful heart remember His mercies and ask that these mercies may be a portion of us, that we may be enabled to test the steadiness of that love which alone gives strength to carry on the work that has to be done, that love of which I spoke, the love to your country, the love to your countrymen, the love to God, the animating principle of your life, and of your action and, may I add, even love to those who assail and attack and misrepresent us. It is a difficult thing and an extremely difficult thing. It is not in human nature not to resent being called, as my friend has been called, jays and carrion kites, I know the sentiments that naturally arise on those of animosity and anger, against bitter taunts of that kind, but I hope it may, to some extent at any rate, be possible for us while we attack a policy, while we are vigorous in our denuncia'ion against acts which are against our rights, and while we are vigorous and earnest in our efforts to hurl back and push back that dark rolling tide of reaction of which I had been speaking, to remember what the blessed prophet of Kapilavastu said, that it is not by hatred that hatred is conquered, but by love. (Cheers), Never were truer words uttered, and Christ, the sincere Lord, said the same thing: "It is by love alone that you can conquer your enemies." Difficult as it may be, I trust that, however much we may be the victims of cruel prejudice and crueller misrepresentation, yet we may be enabled in that spirit of love te carry on the sacred mission that has been entrusted to us. If indeed, friends, you cultivate that spirit of love, then from the beautiful flower of love, will come, in time, a naturally beautiful fruit, and the fruition of the other word which I put before you—"service." Love that is really deep in your hearts, that really overflows from your hearts, permeates every atom of your being. From that love must spring the fruit of action and service

and zealous and self-sacrificing effort. Ladies and Gentlemen, with reference to the work of the Congress, do you love it? If you love it, I ask, pray and implore you to save the Congress by working for it, by services on its behalf. I have known of people and talked with many, whose interest in the Congress cause is flagging, whose zeal is abating, whose hope is dwindling from day to day. Why? Not because the principle which the Congress embodies, enunciates and proclaims from the house top, from the pavilion year after year, has grown less dear to them or that they have altered their attitude and their oonvictions in regard to them. No, no. On the contrary, as I have stated, as they have seen the growth of the political history of nations more and more, they have been convinced that there is a political salvation of India, through the means of the principles of a loyal and organized agitation, the principles that the Congress embodies and carries out. But they have felt that there is only a talk for three days and not the influence of your love, not that progressive advance from day to day, from month to month and from year to year, which ought to be the necessary function of a healthy organic growth. If they do not find it they lose—I was almost going to say ought to lose—the natural, inevitable interest in their work. Therefore if you want to save the Congress. if you want to make it fulfil its high functions, work for it. I rejoice, Ladies and Gentlemen, to find that the resolution about provincial committees, on which my friend to the right spoke so eloquently carried to-day. I rejoice to find that you have adopted it. But, remember that it is not by injunction to Provincial Committees to spread the principles of the Congress, to bring publications out and to teach those principles to the masses and to submit reports; it is not by injunction that you save the Congress or carry the country ahead in its path of reform, progress and political advancement.

Each of us must be ready to serve the country. 1 am glad to learn that in response to that eloquent appeal of my friend, Mr. Surendranth Banerji, several delegates have tendered willing services to the cause of the Congress. Let that number multiply. Let there be larger and larger number of, what my friend Mr. Tarapada Banerji characterised some time ago, Congress workers, who will really do their work for the Congress. It is this work that is our need. I feel strongly, Ladies and Gentlemen, that it is not by talking, that we shall be saved. Our talk may be the talk of the heaven. That will not save us. There must be life behind. The word that is allied to love is self-sacrifice. That is the guiding principle which will pierce like the most piercing of the lances through your heart. We want love, self-sacrifice. Never was progress achieved without self-sacrifice. That is the law, the eternal law of God. Our ancestors believed in sacrifices. They might have been sacrifices in a material sense but they embodied the great central spiritual truth. You, in worshipping God, your divinity, give your sacrifice. sacrifice in that eternal, in that spiritual, in that higher sense which sanctifies you, which enables you to face danger, to overcome every difficulty and not to be daunted by the threats of the mightiest in the world. If you know that you are on the side of the truth, if you know that you are the servant and follower of Him in whose hands, the destiny of this great universe lies, if you know that, you are not frightened and terrified in spite of the frowns of all the mighty rulers or councillors of this world. Embody that love in your heart, embody that principle of sacrifice. If we do that indeed then shall we be blessed. There was a reference made in the speech in moving the resolution to something about the Congress discovering great men of this country. There was some referenac to the work that great men do in it. While I am glad to know

that Congress find its great men, I fear that my friend, who imagines that the Congress has succeeded in that discovery in the present case, has committed a very great mistake indeed, (Cries of "No, no"). At any rate if you feel so, I want to add something to it, something to supplement it. The thought came to my mind as I listened to the address that if a great victory is to be achieved it must be by a fight by the soldiers. If we have our leaders, and we have honored leaders I know, it must be the zeal, devotion and sacrifice of you and me who belong to the rank and file that will enable us to march onward. Let me tell you one incident of that great battle of Omdurman that took place the other day. I am not going to refer to its military aspect or to its achievement or to its results or to the scientific accomplishments of the morden engines of destruction, but only to one little story of heroism which I read, which touched me extremely and which it seemed to me was something worth remembering by you and by me, who have to do our every day work without appreciation, it may be, against slander and calumny, it may be, without receiving that need of sympathy and encouragement for which the human heart naturally longs. This is what I read. There was the famous charge of lancers in that battle, the famous charge in order to decide, in fact, the fate of the battle. One of the Captains or Colonels, in reponse to a toast in London, as regards the incident said this: That it was not really they that won the fight but it was the spirit of the soldies, and this incident which he mentioned I place before you. There was a soldier, he said, among the lancers who was yery ill, but he knew that there was to be a battle on the morrow and he would not report his illness to the Doctor. Then those who were in the army, those who were fighting with him thought it absolutely their duty to report the illness to the Doctor. When the Doctor came he did not find this soldier: he

had hidden himself in such a place that it was impossible for the most diligent inquirer to find him out. Next morning knowing that he might also have a chance to join in this affray, what did he do? Though almost he was on the point of falling down, he groomed his horse and prepared like other soldiers as if he would join in the fight; but he did not join in the fight; he fell down in that attempt and he died there. That is the spirit, Ladies and Gentlemen, of a man whose achievements are not heralded in gazettes and newspaper reports. That is the spirit of the humble man who has faith to sustain, who has got love and good of the country implanted in him, who has not the rousing cheers of the multitude to encourage him in the path of the work for the country, who yet is determined to do his little best, to bear a little of the great burden of the great task, of the great mission that has to be accomplished. And that was the thought that came very strongly to my mind: that it is not by discovering great men, though it has got its uses certainly, it is by having a higher, nobler, more sacred spirit of the work of the country and love for the country implanted into your minds, that you can possibly hope to get on and to achieve even a fraction of the work that must be accomplished if India is to recover her position in the scale of nations. Let us trust and pray that it will be possible for us to have a few seeds of that divine plant, love, sacrifice in life, implanted in our hearts. It may be that these seeds may not at once germinate. I hope they will. At any rate let Madras be associated in our minds, let the closing day of the fourteenth session of the Congress be associated in our minds, with something. I will not use a high expression, something of a new birth, something of a spirit, something of the stir of a new and nobler impulse in our minds. It may be that as we are referring to the work of the humble and the unknown, that the thought may come into the

minds that after all how few are we to achieve this great work, to undo the destruction and havoc that have been rendered by centuries of our misfortune in the past. Ladies and Gentlemen, my friends, I will address you no longer as Brother Delegates, I shall drop that qualification from the mind, shall say fellow-citizens, children of a common mother, friends associated in a holy cause. I ask you if your heart faints at the thought that you are so few amongst the multitude of millions of this land. I will tell you an incident that impressed me. I was once on a visit to Agra where many of you have been. If you had been there, you must remember that there is one particular chamber in the ruins of the old palace, so far as it exists now, known as Sis Mahal, the room of mirrors. That is the place to which a guide often takes you in order to show you a very rare sight. What is that rare sight ? When you go there by yourself, you see that there are hundred other multiplications of you. More than hundred mirrors are placed there and arranged so that one impression, so vivid is the impression that you come to the belief that you are no longer alone in that chamber, but the there are hundreds besides you. Well Ladies and Gentlemen, it is not that glass that you require ; it is a mirror of love, mirror of faith, mirror of self-sacrifice, (Cheers). You will then find yourselves multiplied a hundredfold and thousandfold. You will feel the strength of thousand armies crowd unto you through the invisible, through the mysterious secret influence that works there. You will find your weakness vanishing and in the place of it, there comes a sacred flow that revivifies the spirit, that drives away all faint-heartedness, all weakness, all consciousness of insufficiency from you, and enables you to achieve deeds which formerly seemed impossible to you and then perhaps to the invisible eye of faith you will find not yourself alone, It may be that in your dark dungeon

or cell you are not alone but accompanied by hundreds, it may be that the spirits of our great forefathers, it may be the spirits of ministering angels that God sends down in his kiddness, you will find yourselves not alone, you will find there are hondreds of those ministering spirits whispering to you, encouraging you and speaking to you when you are about to faint, holding you up, sustaining and supporting you in the midst of your trials. That is indeed an experience worth striving for. We learn from those blessed of this world who have gone through that experience that such a thing does exist, that a child goes through the martyrdom, allows its hands to be burnt and body to be destroyed and consumed by the cruel flame, because that gives into heart the strength that does not belong to the child or to that man or woman, but strength that the great infinite divine presence sends down in mercy to the praying, self-sacrificing heart. Let that be our prayer as we part company, as we come to close our work. As in the evening lights are lighted in dark and gloomy chambers, so if there are loveless chambers in our hearts, if there are dark gloomy chambers in our hearts, let the light of love, sacrifice and faith shed its light, when there dark-shades of darkness flee away, there will be beautiful visions of happiness which no word can utter, blessings which no heart listen and realise. Let that be our prayer. Ours, my friends, was a praying nation. In the past ours was a nation distinguished for piety. Let us not lose that inheritance of our ancestors. Brethren, Hindus and Mahomedans, all brethren, united by the highest and sacredest of ties, we are associated by God as the children of one common motherland, let us all ask God that he might send down the love of the country sanctified by the love to Him, sanctified by the superiority of the spirit of sacrifice without which all talk is absolute nothing, sanctified by that spirit of sacrifice, that we may be in the closing year of the

century of some benefit to our country and that we may have earned by the time we next meet again at Lucknow something of that blessing that follows from a righteous purpose accomplished faithfully. We may fail in accomplishing all that we have before us, but if the spirit is in us and if we go in the right direction with that earnestness in us, what may we not achieve, we microscopic minority ? If one man has got the strength of God and the strength of deep love of the country, that one man will be stronger than a thousand, than a ten thousand. Ask for that strength and it shall be ours. Do we not remember how in the days of ancient Rome whenever there was a fissure in the earth which nothing could possibly fill up, one jumped into the pit which had opened and again closed and Rome was again saved from that impending destruction. That is what is wanted. How many of us are prepared at any rate for taking some steps towards that sacrifice. That is the question of questions, not the passing of resolutions; that is easily done, in the cheer to the echo of any periods that may fall from us, but it is the writing of these resolutions into the tablets of your hearts with that steel, cutting steel of sacrificing efforts. That is what is wanted. Depend upon it, that if it comes, no difficulties can stand in the way. It be may to-morrow or it may be 5 or 10 years hence, matters not; but we shall be blessed by God and the blessings of our mother-land shall be on us. It is not right, my friends, that I should detain you further. (cries of 'No no') My closing words will be this: I shall ask for your prayers on my behalf. There was reference made to my failing strength. I do not know how it is that in spite of these apprehensions I have been able to stand this strain. I am one of those who believe in the vitalising influence of human sympathy, and my friends gathered here from Lahore, Bombay and from all the distant parts of the country, it is possibly your sympathy

that has enabled me to stand this strain which it was beyond my wildest dream. It may even be, my friends, that I shall return to Calcutta actually stronger. I hope it may be so. (Cheers). My friend, the Doctor, no warmer any man can have the fortune to possess, knows under what difficulties even in the voyage, the difficulties of a physical character, I had to contend with; yet I thank you still more for that gift, precious gift of sympathy and kindly thought that has enabled me to bear the strain and not entrely be overwhelmed under its great and crushing responsibilities. As I said I will not detain you, there is no occasion to detain you more; all that I ask of you to remember on your behalf, is one substantial result of the Congress in Madras may be that we shall carry something of that spirit,—a little self-sacrifice willingly made is acceptable, as we are told, to the Gods—and let us make that sacrifice. Let us not leave this hall until we have registered a mental vow, until bowing our heads with all solemnity, we have resolved in this year that detween the meeting at Madras and the meeting in that ancient city of Lucknow we shall have recorded some progress, some march in the path towards love and service. I thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen, for your resolution, for your kindness and I pray that the blessings of the Lord may be on us, on every one of us, that He may have strength given us to fulfil whatever mission he has lighted within us, and that we may be enabled to serve the cause of the country by our lives and the sacrifice of lives (cheers).

II.

THE INDIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICE

Speech Delivered at the XIIth Congress, 1896

Mr. A. M. Bose delivered the following speech at the twelfth session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in 1896 in proposing a resolution on the Higher Educational Service which ran to the following effect :—

"That this Congress hereby records its protest against the scheme for reorganising the Educational Service which has just received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude natives of India, including those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Educational Service to which they have hitherto been admitted, for, in the words of the resolution, "in future, natives of India, who are desirous of entering the Educational Department will usually be appointed in India and to the Provincial Service. The Congress prays that the scheme may be so recast as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service."

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, if the preceding resolution as mentioned by its mover was a very old one, the present at any rate is brand new. I regret, therefore, all the more, that booked as a speaker last night in my absence and without my knowledge, I find myself, by a change made

since I entered this hall, in the position of being the mover of this resolution. But, Sir, your mandate must be obeyed, and I must accept the situation with all the philosophy I can command. Brother-Delegates, before addressing myself to the one feature of the many-featured and complicated scheme which is specially referred to in our resolution—the feature namely of extending and perpetuating the area of exclusion in regard to our countrymen in the Educational Service—permit me to make one observation in reference to another feature of the Resolution of the Government of India on this subject. By that Resolution, amongst many changes, an important improvement is effected in the position and pay of many European members of the Educational Service; and I beg to say a word in reference to it in order to prevent any possible misapprehension of our attitude. I rejoice, Sir, that this has been done, because I look upon that improvement as an important recognition of the practical value to the country of the great Educational Service, of the work of those who are engaged in the task of furthering and fostering the cause of education. And I rejoice also, Sir, because on this platform we know no distinction of race, colour, or creed. We welcome an act of justice, though it is done to our European fellow-subjects; we welcome it as an act of justice, and this enables us to emphasise our position in the face of the world that what we contend and strive for in the Congress is not the granting of privileges to any particular sect, race, or creed, but the recognition of merit wherever it may be found, of service rendered in the cause of the country by whomsoever it may be rendered.

Coming now, gentlemen, to the resolution before us, the text on which I have to speak is set out in the words of the sentence which is quoted in it. They are: "in future natives of India who are desirous of

entering the Education Department will usually be appointed in India, and to the Provincial Service." Mark the words "Provincial Service" and all that they necessarily involve, and mark also the words "in future"; and the question, Brother-Delegates, that I put to you is this: Is the cause of progress not only not to advance, but to be put back? Is the future to be worse than the past? Is the hand to be set back on the dial, is retrogression to mark the onward march of time, because that is what the resolution of the Government of India contemplates, what it proposes to carry out: It will be necessary, the subiect being new, to place before you and explain in the fewest words I can, the particular portion of the reorganisation scheme which bears on the present resolition. What the scheme proposes is now for the first time to introduce two distinct divisions or branches in the superior Educational Service of the country, the higher branch to be called the Indian Educational Service and to be filled by persons apointed in England; and the lower branch, namely the Provincial Educational Service, to be filled, by reason, I presume, of the inferiority of its position, by recruitment in India. Let us for a moment examine what are the results that follow from these two different methods of recruitment. Let me say once again, I do not grudge the better terms of what I have called the higher branch. What we regret and what adds to the keenness and bitterness of that regret is that while there has been this recognition of the claims of education in regard to the European member of the Service, as regards the people of India justice has not been done. Justice has been denied to us. In what I have called the higher branch they begin on a pay of Rs, 500; as regards the lower branch, the branch for natives of India, there is no knowing on what pay they will begin. Let me give you one or two facts only, premising that the figures and dates which will be mentioned by me relate specialy to Bengal. Previous to the year

1880, the higher branch open to natives of India and open on exactly the same pay as to a European member; and as a matter of fact it actually comprised several such Indian gentlemen. There was neither a bar to admission nor difference in the scale of pay. But in that year began the downward march, and it was declared that natives of India taken into the higher service should begin on Rs. 333 or two-thirds of Rs. 500, the pay of a European members. I will not pause to consider the invidious and the retrograde character of this distinction then introduced for the first time, or on the heart-burning at the sense of degradation it was likely to cause. But gentlemen, bad as this was, things did not stop here. The scale of 333 went on until in 1889 the initial pay was further reduced to Rs. 250; and we do not know, Sir, how far that progress may now go on, and what further reduction may yet be crried out. Not only is there no guarantee in this respect, no word of hope in the Government Resolution now before us, but so far as it is concerned, commencing pay may be so low as Rs. 150. So far then with reference to the initial salary. As regards the other, maximum limit of pay, we have more light thrown by the terms of the resolution. A native of India, however high his education may have been in the Universities of Europe, however exalted the position he may have taken in the highest competitions in England, can at the end of his life in the Provincial Service expect to rise only to Rs. 700, possibly after 25 or 30 years of service—service reckoned not only by length of years, but it may be by important researches, by unique discoveries, by valuable and noteworthy work in advancing the cause of education. Whereas in the higher branch which is open only to Europeans at the end of 10 years alone, the salary *shall* be Rs. 1,000. This then is the difference in the position as regards these two. What I have said applies also to the graduates of our own Universities, many of them men

of brilliant abilities and rare talent, who would have entered the Educational Service of the country and proved its ornaments and its most useful members but for the poor prospects held out to them and the invidious distinction between the positions of the Indian and the European members of that service.

Let me now point out how we have been actually going backwards in another most important respect by the provisions of this resolution, the result of more than five years' incubation and of numerous despatches passing between India and England. Up to now there was nothing to exclude an Indian member of the Service from becoming the Principal of the highest college in this country. But under the terms of the resolution in question, you will find given in an appendix to the despatch, the list of appointments open respectively to the Indian Educational Service and to the lower Provincial Service. In the former, I am speaking only for Bengal—there are five Principalships of the College, under the latter not one. At the present time any Indian Professor in the Presidency College, and I know some most distinguished ones there, can become in course of time and by virtue of seniority the principal of that College. There is absolutely nothing to prevent it. But under the new scheme we are excluded, we are debarred, from looking forward to that state of things, even if it should be that in working out the scheme some of the minor professorships of the College may, by a stretch of generosity, fall to the lot of the Provincial Service. Is this right? Are we going onwards or backwards? Is that, gentlemen, to be the fruit of that awakening of the great social, moral, and intellectual forces that are now dominating the face of this continent? Is that indeed to be the result of the onward march of the vaunted progress and enlightenment, of the country. Is a new preserve to be created for the European members of the higher

service? Is the area of exclusion for the people of the soil to be further extended? From equality in the earlier years to inequality in 1880, and now in the closing years of the century to still further and grosser inequality, is that to be the order of things, the destined course of progress under the enlightened administration of England for this great and ancient land? At any rate, by our voice and effort we shall do, I trust, all we can to prevent that state of things, and to bring home to the minds and consciences of our rulers and of the justice-loving people of England the injustice that has been done. And, Sir, let me tell the authors of this scheme that, as regards the inauguration of this backward policy in the great educational service of the country, they have selected a very inopportune moment indeed. Why, Sir, I should have thought that if the gracious words of Her Gracious Majesty's Proclamation, which is the charter of our rights, are to be belittled, if those solemn words still ringing in our ears which granted equal rights and equal privileges to all classes of her subjects irrespective of race, colours or creed are to be violated and to be departed from, then the task should be attempted not in the sixtieth year of her Majesty's reign which we in India are celebrating, and the coming of which has filled with joy and' rejoicing the minds of all Her subjects in the vast Indian Empire. Let them not select this present year of Her Majesty's beneficent and benignant rule for initiating this retrograde policy. There is, Sir, another reason also which emboldens me to say that they have been specially unhappy in the selection of their time. Why, Sir, we know the London *Times* has only the other day borne testimony to the fact that the year 1896 is an epoch-making year, as regards the intellectual advance of India. We know that the grand researches of an Indian professor in the field of invisible light in the sublime and giddy

heights of etherial vibration. have led to discoveries which have filled the mind of Lord Kelvin, the highest authority which England has produced, literally 'with wonder and admiration'. We have heard of the great and wonderful feat that another countryman of ours has achieved in the last great competition for the Indian Civil Service. We know of the discoveries which also in the present year of grace have rewarded the genius and the patient toils of another countryman of ours in the realm of chemical research. The present year then when, India has shown that she has not forgotten the traditions of her glorious past, when the great Indian mind has awakened to the consciousness of the great destiny before it, and not only awakened to that conciousness, but has taken the first practical step towards obtaining its recognition from the generous scholars of the West, surely is not the time or the season for ushering into existence a policy of this retrograde character. We shall not, so for as in us lies, permit, without protest at any rate, the inauguration of such a policy. It is, gentlemen, rather late in the day for this policy, for this creation of a new crime of colours, for this infringement of the gracious words of Her Majesty's Proclamation.

Gentlemen, there is one other remark I have to make and that is this. If I had dwelt on the nature of this policy, on what I may venture to describe with all respect, as its audaciously retrograde character, if I have dwelt upon that, it is only right that I should draw your attention to a small word that occurs in the sentence I have placed before you. That sentence, as you know, is "that in future natives of India who are desirous of entering the Education Department will usually be appointed in india and to the Provincial Service." Perhaps the framers of the resolution thought that there was a great deal of virtue in that saving word "usually." But I will venture to prophesy, I will

uudertake to say, what the result of that "usually" will be. Not that the mantle of prophecy has fallen upon me or that the gift of the seer has been vouch-safed to me. But, gentlemen, the past is a guide to the future and lightens up the dark places of much that is yet to be. Let us consult that guide. As I have said, my facts specially refer to Bengal, and this is what we find in that province at the present time. I will not attempt to carry the meeting back with me to distant days. But confining our views to the time which has elapsed since the birth of the Congress, what I find is this that within the last twelve years there have been six appointments of gentlemen educated in England, and educated most successfully so far as all the tests there are concerned. These six gentlemen who have been appointed to the higher educational department in these years, have *all* of them been appointed in India. Not that they did not try to get appointed in England. No, gentlemen, after taking their decrees in the great English and Scotch Universities after having won all their high distinctions—distinctions not less high than those of their English brethren in the service, in some cases perhaps even higher, they tried their very best, they made what I may almost describe as frantic efforts at the India Office to get an appointment from England but all their efforts were in vain. After waiting and waiting, and after heart-rending suspense, they were told that they must ship themselves off as soon as they could to India for the Government to appoint them there. Therefore although there is that word "usually" you may take it that will happen in the future which has in these years happened in the past, and happened too, so far as we are aware, in the absence of this retrograde clause now authoritatively laid down in the Resolution. For all practical purposes, you may take it, gentlemen, that "usually" in the sentence would mean 'invariably'. I cannot venture to detain the meeting any

further. I have already passed the limit of my allotted time. I will, therefore, conclude with only one more remark, There is no cause which can be dearer to the members of the Congress than the cause of education. You, gentlemen are the fruits of that education, of that great awakening of the national mind to which I have referred. And can it possibly be that you will for a moment neglect to do all that you can, all that lies in your power, with the help of our friends in England and in India, with the help of all those, wherever they may be, who look forward to human progress as a thing to be wished for, as a thing to be fought for, to see that your children are not ostracised from those higher branches of the service with their higher opportunities of educational work and educational progress, to which, up to now they have been appointed ? There are no considerations such as those which are sometimes supposed, be it rightly or be it wrongly, to apply to appointments in the Indian Civil Service, which can have any application to those in the Education Service of the country. What possible shade of a shadow of a Justification can there be then for this enlarged and expanded edition of the policy of exclusion ? Gentlemen, I believe, in the intellect of India. I believe the fire that burned so bright centuries ago has not wholly died out. I believe there are sparks, aye more than sparks, that still exist and only require the gentle breeze of sympathetic help of, judicious organisation and kindly care, to burst forth once again into that glorious fire which in the past illumined not only this great continent, but shed its lustre over other lands, into that intellectual life which achieved wonders in the field of literature and arts, in the field of mathematics and philosophy, , which produced works which are even now the admiration and the wonder of the world. Fight with redoubled vigour in that cause, and then we may depend upon it that,

in the Providence of God, righteousness and justice shall triumph, and this attempt to fix on the brows of the people of this ancient land a new stigma and a new disability shall fail as it deserves to fail.

III

MR. A. M. BOSE'S SPEECH

At the Federation Hall

On the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the Federation Hall, October 16, 1905.

My beloved friends, Mahommedan and Hindu fellow-citizens of one and indivisible Bengal!

A *Rishi* of old blessed the gods that he had lived to see the day when the divine sage of *Kapilavastu* was ushered into the world. I am not a *Rishi*, nor worthy to touch the feet of one, but yet I bless our Father in Heaven, who is the Common Father and Judge of the Englishman and the Indian alike, that I have lived to see this day, which marks, I think I may say, the birth of a Nation. I come amongst you as one almost risen from the dead to see this moment of a national upheaval and of national awakening. Drawn from my sick bed, where I have been secluded from the world by serious illness for nearly a year, allow me to express my grateful thanks to you, for the great and signal privilege you have conferred on me by associating me with yourselves on this great and historic occassion, which will live in the annals of Bengal and mark an epoch in its history. I see around me, after a long time, the faces of many dear friends and comrades who have been in the front of the fight. I salute them, and I salute you

all, on this day of solemn recollections and solemn resolves.

It is indeed a day of mourning to us, when the Province has been sundered by an official fiat, and the gladsome spirit of union and of community of interest which had been growing stronger day by day, runs the danger of being wrecked and destroyed, and many other evils into which this is not the occasion to enter are likely to follow in its wake. And yet, in the dispensation of Providence, not unoften out of evil cometh good; and the dark and threatening cloud before us is so fringed with beauteous gold and brightening beams, and so fraught with the prospect of a newer and a stronger national union, that we may look upon it almost as a day of rejoicing. Yes, as our glorious poet has sung in one of his many noble and inspiring utterances, मरा गाङ्गे बान एसेछे "the dead, currentless and swampy river has felt the full force and fury of the flood, and is swelling in its depth". Have we not all heard the booming of that national call, and its solemn summons in our hearts? Let our souls mount forth in gladness to the Throne of the most High, at this sacred national hour of the new and united Bengali nation; let us bear in mind, as a writer in the *Patrika* has said, that "from dark clouds descend life-giving showers, and from parted furrows springs up the life-sustaining golden grain, that the bitter biting winter is the precursor of the glorious spring." I belong to the sundered province of East Bengal, and yet, my brethren, never did my heart cling more dearly to you or your hearts cherish us more lovingly than at the present moment, and for all the future that lies before us. The "official" separation has drawn us indeed far closer together, and made us stronger in united brotherhood. Hindu, Mussalman and Christian, North, East and West, with the resounding sea beneath, all

belong to one indivisible Bengal; say again, my friends, from the depths of your hearts, to one indivisible Bengal, the common, the beloved, the ever-cherished Mother-land of us all. In spite of every other separation of creed, this creed of the Common Motherland will bring us nearer, heart to heart and brother to brother. And this Federation Hall, the foundation-stone of which is being laid to-day, not only on this spot of land, but on our moistened and tearful hearts, is the embodiment and visible symbol of this spirit of union, the memorial to future generations yet unborn of this unhappy day, and of the unhappy policy which has attempted to separate us into two parts. It will, I trust, be a place for all our national gatherings; in its rooms will be held social reunions and meetings for different purposes. There will be, probably, gymnasiums, room for a library of reference and of useful publications and for newspapers, as well as classes for the singing of national songs and for the recitation and cultivation of all that promotes a spirit of patriotism, of self-sacrifice and true culture; accommodation too, I hope, will in time be provided for visitors from other parts of Bengal, and, it may be, of India. Those of you who have been to Amritsar have seen how in the Golden Temple there is throughout day and night the scene of worship, of holy reading and holy associations. I hope in the same way, this Hall will be a place where all that moulds and forms a growing nation, all that uplifts and regenerates the national character, and trains it up to true manhood, and every noble impulse shall always find their place; and at its shrine shall come, as for worship, every member of the Bengali nation. It will be a temple raised in honour of our Common Motherland not only for national union, but also for national progress. Let me earnestly appeal to you all and through you to the millions of Bengal for funds to make this temple worthy of itself. The rich will, I have

no doubt, from their abundandce give thousands and tens of thousands, but I trust no Bengali, however poor will refrain from bringing his offering to this shrine. his prayer for its completion, and his efforts for its suitable maintenance. Let every brick of this building bear testimony to the devotion and patriotic ardour of our people. Let us remember that here shall be formed integrating factors—the factors that will make for our union—against the disrupting influences of a divided interest and divided Government.

I rejoice from my heart that this ceremony is presently to be followed by an inauguration for furthering and consolidating the industrial development of the country, on which depends the material salvation of millions in this land. And yet the two inaugurations are not separate but one, and, like the sacred *Ganges* and the holy *Jumna*, they will commingle their waters and unite their waves in one merry march to the azure sea. In this Hall, I believe lectures will be delivered and discussions held on all subjects bearing on the commercial and industrial progress of the country. Its rooms will contain economic museums and samples of commercial products of the land—even though for the present this may be on a small scale—and experiments will be held of a practical character. It will be the rendezvous of all interested in this great cause of industrial progess, and will, in various other ways, promote those interests. In fact, this Hall will, as it grows and expands, be the natural and the necessary home of the movement for the industrial advance of the country. And it is fitting that from this scene of the future Federation Hall, you shall march together in solemn procession, to the scene of the industrial ceremony at the house of our honoured friend Rai Pasupati Nath Bose.

Here, let me address a few words on the agitation which has convulsed this Province for the last two

months in connection with the question of its Partition, and stirred to its innermost depths the heart of every section of the community, from the highest to the lowest, from the rich zemindar in the town to the poorest of the poor in his humble cottage. For they indeed fatally misapprehend this movement, who imagine that it is the student community or any other single section or two in the Province that has caused this upheaval. I thank you all for the ardour, devotion, and spirit of sacrifice, which have so far distinguished your efforts. I have heard of people and even of respectable journals, which speak glibly of the lawlessness and disobedience to authority of our student community. Let me bear testimony—and this I can do from personal knowledge as to what is thus described as lawnessness and disobedience, on the part of students of British Universities, whom our students would not even dream of approaching in this respect. But I will not pause to give examples, numerous and glaring as they are ; but I wonder whether our rulers and our critics, most of whom, I presume, have passed through the Universities of their country, have so completly forgotten the experiences of their own student days. Why, our students are absolutely spotless, in comparison with British youths, as indead, I believe, they are practically spotless, not as a matter of comparison only, but by themselves. Let us, my friends, continue in the same career, regardless of our own personal interests and all individual and sectional jealousies, if such indeed there be. For if the true spirit of loving sacrifice, and nothing of a base admixture be ours, surely God will provide for you, my student friends, and grant us true happiness and the true blessing—how great only those who have tested it can say—of a self-consecrated existence. Let us all specially see to it, that no lawlessness characterise or even tinge our proceedings. Let us be the victims, if need be, never the

perpetrators of wrong—the victims it may be of ignorant, misinformed or perverse authority, or of a too often unscrupulous Police. We have to learn the divine lesson of how to suffer. *No Yajna* is complete without sacrifice; and this is the teaching of all Scriptures. Let us be perpared, if such should be the short-sighted and suicidal policy of any of our rulers, to suffer persecution for the sake of our Motherland for from the thorns we shall tread will be formed a crown of glory for the country that gave us brith. The air is full of rumours of repressive action on the part of the authorities, specially against our students. I do not know whether to believe them or not; for in spite of confidence in the persent ruler of the Province, and I believe it is his desire to do justice, there are administrators and advisers behind him; and the pages of history are filled with instances in which cruel repression, and not sympathy or kindness or attempt to change convictions, has been the last hope of a discredited bureaucracy, the last weapon of an irresponsible authority. How futile too and doomed to failure and much worse than failure such attempts have been is also amply shown in the self-same pages; but lessons of wisdom and past experience are not unhappily always learnt or always profited by. But I pray of the Most High that, in this crisis, He may guide the counsels of our rulers unto the paths of righteousness and justice. Let them remember the golden rule and place themselves in our position; let them act that they may answer on the Day of Judgment for exercise of the great powers with which they have been entrusted over their fellow creatures, and for what they have done to these, the least of their brethren. And I venture to appeal to all Englishmen not to shun us, but to side and sympathise with us, in this struggle for the simple assertion on our part of human rights, appeal to them that they may be true to their noblest ideals which have made their annals famous

and immortal in history, and grant us a little of the liberty and freedom which they have themselves enjoyed in such abundant and bounteous measure.

One has heard of different Orders in this country for religious and philanthropic service, of vows of self-sacrificing devotion carried to life's last day. Enter you, my friends, into what I might call the Order of the Motherland or of *Bangabhumi*; and with characters unstained, aims that are placed on high, and spirits that are pure and noble and absolutely self-forgetful, serve the land, and suffer for the land, that gave you birth. Hindus and Mussalmans, let us in the name of God all unite in this sacred crusade for the welfare and prosperity of our common Mother. We have come, most of us, bare-footed and in garbs of mourning, to this site of our future shrine. Silent are the busy marts of men and silent is the roar of trade. Throughout the town and its suburbs all the numerous shops,—Hindu Mussalman and Marwari—have closed as a sign of deep mourning, and in spite of the efforts by the Police to the country, all shops in fact except practically the very small fraction owned by Englishmen. We all, present in our tens of thousands here and millions throughout the Province, I believe, are fasting to-day and no fires shall be kindled in our heart. But let that fire burn instead in our hearts, purify us and kindle an enthusiasm in us, which shall be all the brighter and all the warmer for the quenched fire in our homes.

And now, farewell, my friends, with these, which may perchance be, the last words which I shall utter to you on this side of Eternity. Farewell on this day of fraternal union when the bond of *Rakhi* is tied in our arms. Much that comes pouring into my heart must remain unsaid. Ours is not the land of the rising sun, for to Japan,—victorious, self-sacrificing and magnanimous—belongs that title. But may I not say that ours is the land where the sun is rising again,

where, after ages of darkness and gloom, with the help, let me gratefully acknowledge, of England and English culture, the glowing light is bursting once again over the face of the land, and the glorious dawn is heralding the approach of a bright and regenerated day! Let us all pray that the Grace of God may bless our course, direct our steps, and make captive our hearts. Let action and not words be our motto and inspiring guide. And then shall my dream be realised of a beauteous land blessed by nature, and filled by men true and manly, and heroic in every good cause—true children of the Motherland. Let us see in our heart of hearts the Heavens opening and the angels descending. In ancient books the gods are described as showering flowers and garlands on the scene of a notable battle. See we not, my friends, those flowers dropped to-day from self-same hands, welcoming us to the new battle, not of blood, but of manly effort and stern resolve in the country's cause?

And Thou, Oh God! of this ancient land, the protector and saviour of *Aryavarta*, and the Merciful Father of us all, by whatever name we call upon Thee, be with us on this day; and as a father gathers his children under his arms, do Thou gather us under Thy protecting and sanctifying care!

IV

ANANDA MOHUN BOSE AS A NATION-MAKER

Great men live by divine inspiration, and not till they have passed away is the plan revealed of which they formed a part. Not by themselves, nor by those about them, is the full significance guessed of all their words and deeds. They were thought to be but hammering in the smithy, and lo, when the day was done, new weapons lay forged in the armoury, and the trumpets were found in readiness, that at sunrise would summon the hosts! Greatest of all leaders are they who face the hardship of the desert, but set no foot themselves on the soil of the promised land. Of such souls, walking by faith and not by sight, simplicity is the one enduring characteristic—a simple sincerity, that is child-like in its transparency. They stand absolutely at the disposal of their own conscience. They live only a moment at a time, babbling neither of yesterday nor to-morrow: and yet to do them justice it is essential that we fathom the whole drift and movement of history. Of them, no one who reads the quiet pages of this short biography can doubt that there has largely been one amongst us, and his name was Ananda Mohun Bose.

No other proof of the unquenchable vitality of India is so convincing as the number of great men that she has produced, during the last two generations, in spite of all tends that to moral chaos in an age of transition. Only by the marvellous selflessness

of one after another of mighty intellect has she been able to hew out a path to light and air and clearness of vision through the immeasurable obscurity and confusion of the period. Self lessness working in combination with a powerful brain, means a sustained ability to live in the communal, instead of the individual, interest. In India, bestowing a burning thirst for the good of the People and the Soil, it creates the Nation-makers, the men who pilot their countrymen through the rocks and shoals of experiment in new forms of self-organisation, never allowing them to think any of these an end in itself, but keeping the ultimate goal always before them. It is this quality of selflessness that determines the mutual rank of national workers. Politicians and journalists, demagogues and organisers, are all subordinate in reality to these captains of character, these spiritual chieftains, the men of an idea, who, for their part, may be found in any position, high or low.

Ananda Mohun Bose was a village boy. His Childhood was passed under the old *regime*. He could remember being lifted out of bed at midnight and carried to do obeisance before the image of Kali,at the yearly pujas. The codes and memories of his early home were representative of all that for centuries had been regarded as finest in Bengali tradition. Uma Kishori, his mother, was of the grandest type of the old Indian womanhood. Even now her portrait remains, with its haunting beauty.

to tell of the austerity and dignity of her long widowhood. This second and most distinguished of her three sons, must, even in his babyhood, have been her special pride, for she would hold long converse with old women of the village, about the wondrous omens that, to her own heightened consciousness, had seemed to attend his birth. Nor is there surely anything to smile at in these fond imaginings. It is true that signs and portents are not visible and audible to all. But when the great souls make their advent into life, why should their mothers, whose arms receive them on its threshhold,, not be made aware?

By the best of the old, then, was A. M. Bose prepared for the task of acquainting his people with the best of the new. Throughout his life, in spited of disappointments and reverses, he could cherish a high-hearted belief in man, he could welcome goodness and sincerity under all shades of opinion, he could maintain relations of ordiality and affection, even with those from whom he differed most painfully, because from his very birth he had been surrounded by the honourable, the courteous and the dutiful, and had been impressed still more by the ideals than by the institutions of his homeland. The service of the common- wealth may be one of the noblest froms of *sannyss*; and here, as in the religious orders, the law hold that good homes make great monks, that the sanctity of the family renders possible the loftiness and disinterestedness of the public life.

The inspiratlon that shines out through the career of A. M. Bose is clear and unconfused. To use an old phrase, he who runs may read Simply, *Citizenship is an ideal as high as sainthood.* His manifold activities and achievemeuts merely formed the garb through which he realised himself as a citizen, To this idea he gave his life. All religions are religions of human sacrifice and whether he himself was aware if it or not, the integrity and devotion of citizenship was the religion of this man, and upon its alter he made himself an offering.

His initiation into Brahmoi sm was his means of clearing the arena, of arriving at simplicity of aim. Men of the highest type can follow no guide but conscience. It is nothing to them, whether others look upon the results as great or little. Over hill and valley, marsh and desert, they must follow. Like all the men of his time, A. M. Bose was born to the assumption that that from of activity which we call religion was the soul's whole sphere, and the little group of fellow-believers its true home. Nor did he ever falter in these convictions. Only he lived to vindicate the fact that the whole synthesis of conscience is one's religion; and that every part of a vast nation may, to a man's heart, from a single church!

The choice of a religion, and that a religion involving social penalties, could not but be his first assertion of independent manhood. But even here, he was destined to suffer and to struggle on behalf of the real underlying principle of his life—the equal right of all to self-expression and self-direction. In the simple account here

given, by his disciple friend, and of the formation of the Universal Brahmo Samaj, we can all see that the necessity for a new body had sprung, in fact, from no person-al difference regarding family matters, between a minister and his flock, but from the far deeper question of the need of a constitution, which should give rights of expresion and representation to all, and be equally binding upon the leader and the led. There is no such thing as the submission of free men to persons, however much they may be attracted by them. There is merely the instinct to follow that soul which is itself most instrict to the stress of the ideal. The ruler who breaks the law is already deposed. It is this strong perception of law and equality that to this day makes the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj so valuable to India, as a training-schofl for the civic life and ideals. A few honourable men, tightknit amongst themselwes in united conceptions of the national needs, highly educated, and acknowledging common standard of work and integrity, make a nucleus whose worth is admitted gladly, even by those who differ from them. But how constant must be the farewells of thsoe who strive only for the Right! First aman must turn his back on the most cherished beliefs and associations of his childhood. Then he must needs come again to a parting of the roads, and watch even his newly-chosen companions out of sight, ere he shoulders his load, and takes up his staff once more, to set forth on the lonely path the peaks he has sighted. Of many who felt themselves impelled upon the formation of the Sadharan Brahmo

Samaj in 1878, this must have been true, and of none more so than of those who, like Ananda mohon Bose, were still young, and had already, out of conviction, abandoned orthodox society. To such was spoken the stern benediction of Walt Whitman, "What beckonings of love ye receive, ye shall answer with passionate kisses of parting." In good sooth, they who follow the path of truth, with its perpetual renunciations, create little jealousy, but they gather on partisans!

The briliant intellectual successes which marked the opening of Mr. A. M. Bose's carer were as the feats of horsemanship by which a skilled ride finds his rank in the field; they secured him a leading place in India, and in England they opened the door to his meeting with the best. We must never forget that he saw Europe at its noblest and that the two ideas he brought away were popular Education and Constitutionalism. The story of his labours for these two causes, told now for the first time in connected form, will probably be a revelation, even to thosé who knew him best. One could not have believed that a single life could accomplish so much. And always we note the characteristic of greatness. When the brunt of the battle has been borne he resigns the flag into other hands. He desires that no movement shall be hampered by the persistence of his personality. He thinks only of the end in view, and appears to be without any attachment to the fruits of his own work. The fact that he had had all the labour and trouble of creating the Indian Association, and org-

anising its yearly Conferences, in no way clouded the sunshine of the welcome he accorded to Hume, when he took up the idea of the National Congress. He gladly acknowledged the superior advantages of the larger scheme, and gave up his own in order to make more room for it. In similar fashion, when he had been eight years Hon. Secretary of the Indian Association, he insisted on resigning for no reason but that others might have an opportunity of sharing the honour. And, in spite of all that he had done for its initiation, after two years' presidency of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, he insisted on retiring to make way for some one else. It was only in answer to insistent demands, that he consented five years later on the death of his successor, Mr. Shib Chandra Deb, to resume his old task and position of President. Anywhere but in India such disinterestedness would have seemed quixotic, making for the instability of the organisation. But India was ever the land of saints, and the citizen of the new age is saints, and the citizen of the new age is but the saint of the old transformed.

The democratic aspiration after liberty, equality and fraternity, was consciously or unconsciously, as the breath of his nostrils to A. M. Bose. Even in religion, as we have seen, he aimed at this. He came back from his years at Cambridge, believing that the quintessence of the English genius lay in that organised political life which represented England's

ideal of democratic freedom. He could not but trust in the English people. Some of the most generous hearts in that country had been proud to admit him to their warm confidence and affection. The friend of Fawcett, Gladstone, and Ripon, could not base his work on a careful calculation of foreign limitations With all the ardour of the strong, he flung himself into the task of organising the political opinion of India. His work issued in the formation of the Indian Association, with its many achievements, paving the way for that constitutional agitation of the last twenty-five years, which has had the National Congress as its organ and mouth-piece. Pursuing his belief, again to its logical issue, as he never shrank from doing, he shattered his own health, in 1895, by the vigour of the camaign in which he brought the needs of India before the English electorates—a campaign, which, so far as England was concerned, was entirely barren of political result. The long disillusionment of Lord Curzon's appointment, and the Education Bill of 1904-5 followd. Lying on his sick-bed, he heard of the famous speech at Convocation, and went through the national agony over the impending Partition.

But the glory of the truth-seeker lies in openness to new truth. No egotism can blind him whose whole heart has been spent in the single-hearted quest of right. The spirit of man marches ever onward, and dreams of the past cannot hold it back. The supreme text of Mr. A. M. Bose's political life came to him on

his death-bed, and he was not found wantigg. Suddenly the Indian people awoke to the realisation that their future depended on themselves alone; that Nationality, not Constitutionalism, was henceforth to be their watchword; that nation-building, not political organistion, was the task before them. In that hour there was found one man, clear-eyed enough to see that the story of the past was a tale only of experiments; high-souled enough to acclaim that banner round which the armies of the future were already gathering; and by universal consent worthy to confer the chrism and *abhishek* of a new life on the Indian Nation of the dawning age. Few men have attained the spiritual triumph of giving welcome and benediction to that ideal which supersedes all for which they themselves have worked and striven. A. M.Bose however, did this by instinct, and with his whole heart. Never did it occur to him that he had worked for anything but the Motherland. Never did he dream that his labours or his party had been anything in themselves. And this perfect selflessness—making such conduct seem to himself only simple and natural, keepping him out for the part of high-priest at the great ceremony of Oct, 16th 1905, and made of his presence there,clad in the sanctity of approaching death,not a political demonstration merely, but a nation's birth and consecration.

There is no need to labour the tale. Like most those born for mighty ends, he was grand and debonair in all the relationships of life. The man who lived in his

shadow for thirty years, and submitted their lives to his shaping hand, found him greater with every day then passed. He was inflexible in the maintainance of justice gentle and compassionate in the confidence of intimacy and absolutely catholic in his appreciation of the doings and deservings of others. That Indian man who had achieved, whether much or little, might be sure of his delighted encouragement and praise, no matter what might be his relation to himself, or his party. For an account of the inspiration he could give, we have but to turn to the Congress over which he presided, to the movements he initiated, to the men he made. Like all of his calibre, we may well believe that he had glimpses far beyond the common, of those mountain-heights to which the spirit climbs, to walk with God. And like them, above all, he was full of simplicity. In his innermost being, he held perpetual converse with the Infinite. It is doubtful how much of a man's diary we have a right to see, but assuredly in proportion to his greatness will be the child-likeness we find there.

Ananda Mohan Bose, born two hundred years earlier, would have been an Indian saint. Born in our own time and as strong now, as then, in the national righteousness. he became a citizen, the forerunner of a great new knighthood of the Civic Order. God grant that he, and the men he touched, prove but the first generation of a type that shall sway the future! God grant that, pure, sweet and incorruptible as was he, even so there may be millions to follow him, in all the self-chosen labour and sacrifice of nation-building for the Motherland.

NIVEDITA

of Ramkrishna-Vivekananda